THE
ELECTRICAL WORKER
OFFICIAL JOURNAL
INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD OF ELECTRICAL WORKERS.

JUSTICE UNITY FRATERNITY

VOLTA GALVANI FRANKLIN EDISON ROENTGEN

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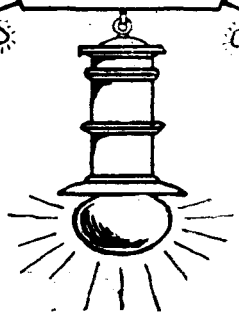

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THE ELECTRICAL WORKER

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A SPLENDID ADDRESS

One of the notable addresses delivered at the recent convention of the American Federation of Labor was that of Reverend Peter Dietz of Oberlin, Ohio, and for the interest of our members we are attaching herewith the verbatim report of this address as it appears in the report of the American Federation of Labor, fourth day proceedings:

Fraternal Delegate Father Dietz: Mr. President and Members of the Convention—I am very glad to be among you because of the personal satisfaction that it gives me. I was with you last year in Toronto in an unofficial capacity, and the impression I received were strong and deep and lasting. I have not failed to give a good report whenever and wherever I have had the opportunity. I had not been a stranger to trades unionism before that. I will not go into details of the things I have been interested in; it is sufficient to say that at the present time I hold an honorary commission as organizer from the State Federation of Labor of Ohio. But my personal part, small as it is, could be of no particular interest to you were it not that I have been honored by representing an organization which in many respects resembles your own. In membership it is equal to your own organization, numbering over 3,000,000 thoroughly organized men. It is made up of many nationalities. While its primary object is a defense of the rights of the Catholic citizen it has also as an object the elevation of the standard of American citizenship, which it has in common with you of the American Federation of Labor.

I am proud that it is my privilege to be the first man to represent the American Federation of Catholic Societies in your body. It is not necessary to assure you that you enjoy the sympathy of the great organized body of the Catholic laity in the United States, for that sympathy has always been with you, and if proof were wanting it could be found in the fact that a very large part of the men who are in the service of the trades union movement owe spiritual allegiance to the Catholic faith and I dare say that their Catholic faith has never stood in the way of their trade unionism. You yourselves will attest that they have been as loyal to you as the most loyal among you; that they have stood shoulder to shoulder with you; that they have borne with you the brunt of every battle, and today they sit honorably with you in this convention.

Trades unionism has always been a part of the Catholic system of thought. It may not have been in that name, but the substance of it, according to the times and the modifications of circumstances, has always been a part of the Christian civilization of the past. I need not enter into details, for any fair student of economic history will satisfy himself that the Catholic Church has not stood in the way of the just aspirations of the people, but has ever been their champion.

But today I do not wish to speak of what is past. I wish to tell you what is our conviction today. It is our idea that society is built upon the unit, the family is built upon the unit, the State is built upon the unit. As we look out over the State we notice it is an industrial State. As an industrial State it rests upon industrial society and industrial society to a great extent rests upon trades unionism. In fact, we can say that trades unionism is the very backbone of industrial society, and therefore the great problem of social reform is largely the problem of trades unionism. We have witnessed in the nineteenth century a great democratic movement. We have noticed everywhere how the power of government or of forming the government has passed

from the hands of the few into those of the great masses of the common people. It is not necessary to examine the causes, but it has forced the legislatures of every civilized land to give a large share of its work to the social problems, to the adjustment of the relations of the workmen and the employers, of the rich and the poor. The poorer and weaker portion of the population is made up of working men. They form the greatest part of the population and it is meet and just and right in a democracy that they shall have the greatest share in making and in the administration o fthe law, and that they are entitled to the largest benefit of the law.

But we realize that the protection of the State can not be enduring unless it be sustained by labor organization. The very fact that the country gives continued evidence of social dissatisfaction and disaster is proof to any thinking man that society is not sufficiently organized. If every industry were organized, the parasitic industries that take and use up the life-blood of the successive relays of working men, casting the worn-out toiler on the scrap heap, to be taken care of by the community, would cease to exist or would have to be amended.

We maintain two great principles which we have never denied, and which we do not deny now. We insist that it is wrong to tolerate the cut-throat competition among employers; and, on the other hand, the sham comeptition of individual bargaining between master and working man. It is right to regulate trading and to have collective bargaining. We are confronted sometimes with tales of trade union tyranny. In the words of Charles Staunton Devas, a Catholic political economist, it is our conviction that fifty per cent of these tales have their birth in the heated imagination of antagonists, that twenty-five per cent arise out of misunderstandings, and of the remaining twenty-five per cent a part may be justified, leaving a remainder to show that trades unionists, like other people, are subject to human infirmities. It is but common sense therefore to give encouragement to trades unionism which is not and can not be, if it is true to itself, a center of atheism and revolt. The American Federation of Labor has succeeded in elevating the standard of living, not only for the 3,000,000 men and their families who make up its membership, but also for untold millions, who ignorantly or ignobly profit by its work and its sacrifice. What was said by John Mitchell in 1903 at Wilkesbarre has always appealed to me. He said it was a pity that so many, failing to understand the fundamental principles and the lofty ideals of trades unionism, condemn without investigation the motives and the policies of those whose mission it is to relieve suffering, redress wrong and raise to a higher standard of life those who are as defenseless in their individual capacities as a rudderless ship in an ocean storm.

The Federation of Catholic Societies, therefore, holds out to the trade unionism the hand of fellowship and support. We realize and recognize that trade unionism is a primary element in the regulation of industrial society. We fail to see how within proper limits it can in any way prove injurious to the common welfare. Every business enterprise must be subject to the common welfare, and any business enterprise that to succeed rests upon a rate of wages and conditions detrimental to a decent livelihood and unworthy of manhood ought never to see the light of day.

We realize that the American Federation of Labor has been a most effective institution for the protection of the rights and liberty of the American working men. We believe that at heart it offers a safe, real, constructive, sane and Christian solution of many of our social problems. It has always been guided by conservation, and precisely because of this, the American Federation of Labor deserves the sympathy and active support of that larger portion of our American population which is the constituency of the American Federation of Catholic Societies.

ENGLISH WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION ACT, 1906

By ARTHUR HENDERSON, M. P. in the Journal of the Friendly Society of Iron Founders

We have frequently referred in these notes to the imperative necessity of our authorities doing all they can to minimize the number of fatal and non-fatal accidents, which as a toll is demanded from the workers of this country. In our judgment no amount of compensation can adequately meet the case of those who are either killed or maimed, especially if a little precaution on the part of those responsible could have spared the life or avoided the pain and suffering. This is why the Labor Party have pressed so incessantly for more effective inspection of mines and factories, and though we have not as yet succeeded in our quest, this does not prevent the recognition on our part of the useful work accomplished through legislation for assisting widows and orphans of

out at only four-fifths of a penny per those whose lives may have been sacrificed, or those who may have been temporarily laid aside by misfortune.

Returns For 1909.

An interesting report upon the work of the amended Workmen's Compensation Act for last year has just been issued by the Home Office. The information given is the most complete since the new law became operative. It contains statistics as to the compensation paid in seven great industries—Mines, Quarries, Railways, Factories, Harbors, Docks, Constitutional Work, and Shipping. These are obtained from the returns made by or on behalf of employers in pursuance of the order of the Secretary of State under section 12 of the act. The report also contains general statistics for 1909 in regard to the administration of the Compensation Act, together with particulars relating to the Employers' Liability Act, 1880.

In the seven groups of industries already named the number of employers included in the returns was 117,391, and the average number of persons employed was over 6,500,000, of whom 4,500,000 come under the heading of factories. There was compensation paid in 3,341 cases of death and in 332,612 cases of disablement. The average payment in case of death was £154, in case of disablement £5 6s., and the total amount in the seven groups of industries amounted to £2,274,238.

Allowing for those industries which are not included in these returns the total amount paid in all industries can hardly fall, according to Sir Edward Troup, of the Home Office, short of three millions.

"The Burden Upon Industry."

During the debates in the House of Commons both on the amended act and the original measure, for which Mr. Chamberlain was responsible, a great point was made as to the serious charge that must inevitably fall upon certain industries—notably mining—under the provisions of such a measure. The report informs us that the annual charge for compensation, taking the seven groups of industries, averaged 6s. 10d. per person employed. The following amounts may be interesting as showing the total paid and the average cost per head of the persons employed:

	Compensation. £	Per head. £ s. d.
Mines	988,865	1 0 1
Quarries	40,660	0 9 2
Railways	159,686	0 8 4
Factories	784,095	0 3 5
Docks	109,056	0 16 8
Constructional	68,783	0 14 11
Shipping	128,293	0 18 8

Total, £2,274,238. Average, 6s, 10d.

It is interesting to note that in the coal mining industry the charge works ton of the total amount of coal raised.

Factories (Foundries Included).

The order of the Secretary of State requires returns to be made in respect of industries carried on in factories to which the Factory and Workshops Act, 1901, applies. The term factory is applied by the act (a) to any premises in which a manufacturing process is carried on with the aid of mechanical power, (b) to the following classes of works, whether mechanical power is used or not: Print works, bleaching and dyeing works, earthenware works, lucifer match works, percussion-cap works, cartridge works, paper staining works, fustian cutting works, blast furnaces, copper mills, iron mills, foundries, paper mills, glass works, tobacco factories, letterpress printing works, bookbinding works, flax scutch mills, and electric stations.

The number of factories on the register of the Factory Department of the Home Office for 1909 was 112,479; 81,239 of the occupiers were included in the collective returns made by insurance companies, etc., and 13,705 individual returns were received. These returns have been classified into ten groups, as follows: Textile factories—1(1 cotton; (2) wool worsted, shoddy; (3) other textiles. Non-textile factories—(4) wood; (5) extraction, founding, galvanizing of locomotive and motor engineering, and metals, including conversion; (6) marine, shipbuilding (7) manufacture of machines, appliances, conveyances, and tools; (8) paper, printing, stationery, etc.; (9) china and earthenware; (10) miscellaneous.

The number of fatal cases under Factories in which compensation was paid was 744, and the amount paid £104,039, an average of nearly £140 per case; the total number of disablement cases was 23,134 with compensation £664,431, an average of £5.7 a case. Of the fatal cases, the average compensation paid in respect of the 469 cases in which persons were left wholly dependent was nearly £198; in the case in which persons were left partly dependent the average compensation was £57 13s. The total number of persons employed amounts to over 4,500,000, of whom 4,302,217 were employed inside the factories, and 283,638 whose duties took them wholly or partly outside the factory premises—e. g., carters. On a rough estimate, the number of reported accidents which disabled for more than seven days would seem not to have exceeded 100,000.

The following table gives the number of fatal accidents, and also the number of persons employed, returned under section 12, and the number of fatal accidents and persons employed returned under the Factory Act in the metal and kindred trades:

	Under Workmen's Compensation Act. Fatal Cases.	Number Employed.	Under Factory Act. Fatal Cases.	Employes.
Metals	120	343,275	152	388,941
Engine and shipbuilding	73	222,591	109	291,941
Machine, appliances, etc	103	696,698	91	693,920
Total	296	1,262,564	352	1,374,337

Compensation was also paid under the Factory Department to 27 fatal cases and 545 disablement cases arising out of the industrial disease, 24 of which are scheduled under the act. In the former the total paid amounted to £4,974, an average of £184; and the latter £10,651, an average of £19 10s. a case. The average in respect of the 24 fatal cases, in which persons were left wholly dependent, was £204.

The total amount paid for compensation under the heading of Factories amounted to £784,095, which works out, on the returns of persons employed, at 3s. 4d. per head.

Taking individual industries under the heading of factories the compensation works out at 18s. 10½d. per head in the cotton industry; 1s. 1d. in the wool, worsted, and shoddy industry; 10½d. in the other textile industries; 7s. 11d. in the wood industry; 7s. 5d. in the metal (extraction, founding and galvanizing) industry; 8s. 7d. in the engine and shipbuilding industries; 3s. 11½d. in the machines, appliances, conveyances, and tools industries; 1s. 6d. in the paper and printing industries; 3s. 0½d. in the china and earthenware industries; 3s. 0½d. in the miscellaneous industries.

It is estimated that the amount of compesation accruing to the workers under the amended act is three times as large as that formerly obtained. It is impossible to over emphasize how much this is due to the efforts of the Labor members, who extended largely the scope and increased the effectiveness of the measure in its passage through Parliament. The minority of Osbornites might study with advantage the results of this measure, and accept the moral suggested with mutual advantage to themselves and their fellow-workmen.

COURT FAVORS LABOR.

PHOTO-ENGRAVERS NOT IN CONTEMPT.

Judge Pierce Rules That Photo-Engravers' Did Not Violate Injunction.

Judge Pierce, in the equity session of the Superior Court recently, in the contempt proceedings brought by William B. Wright and other master photo-engravers against George F. Lewis and John Maguire, officers of the Photo-Engravers' Union, Matthew Woll and Louis Kohlmetz, of the International Photo-Engravers' Union, handed down a decision that the strike was declared off before the issuing of the final decree, and that none of the defendants or the union as such acted in violation of the injunction.

The hearings have been held every afternoon for several weeks, and considerable interest was manifested. The master engravers claimed that the defendants violated the temporary injunction—in that the strike was being continued and strike benefits were being paid to workmen; also that the business and employes of the complainants were being interfered with.

The judge said it would be a waste of time to analyze the testimony. Much of it, on either side, was not commendable; it was false in spirit through perhaps true in fact. It was diplomatic—it was not intended for the elucidation of truth, but for victory. It might have deceived the court, and in consequence a wrong might have been done.

His honor further said that if the evidence was sufficient to establish the contempt, he is of the opinion that a Court of Equity ought not to punish contemners when to do so would be to give to the petitioners an undeserved victory.

"It must not be overlooked," says he, "in these cases that what is sought by the petitioners is not, primarily, punishment for the defendants, because the dignity of the commonwealth has been offended, her courts insulted, and her mandates scorned; but revenge and satisfaction because they have failed to realize the advantage in the fight which seemed to have been put into their hands by the court's order. To obtain such an advantage in a Court of Equity, it would seem to be necessary that the petitioners should seek and pursue redress with the single purpose to have the truth prevail."

His honor finds it unnecessary to apply this principle, since he holds the strike was declared off as stated.

Order Not Technically Violated.

Judge Pierce said: "If the decree was intended to mean that these defendants should at once take such steps as they were able to cause the strike to come to an end, in popular language to be called off, if, in a word, they were to

take active steps to compel the employes to return to work, the decree nowhere states it; neither does it anywhere appear from the testimony produced before me whether they did or did not attempt to compel or persuade such action. A mere unincorporated association (such at the defendant union) could neither call on or call off a strike without the consent of a majority of its members; and the officers of such an organization are powerless to compel action.

"I am of the opinion that it was not intended, or, at least, it was not understood by either plantiffs or defendants, that the decree called for active measures to cause a return of the men of their work. It apparently was understood by all parties that while nothing should be done to further the strike—as, for instance, the payment of strike benefits—nevertheless the parties and the conditions remained unchanged and in state of truce pending a hearing upon the merits and a possible appeal to the supreme judicial court.

"If the order has been technically violated—and I think it has not been—I am of the opinion that neither the plaintiffs nor the defendants so regarded it; and therefore the defendants stand purged of this charge.

No Evidence of Strike Benefits.

"The final decree, though amplified, does not materially differ from the interlocutory decree. It does, in terms, prohibit the payment of strike benefits, while the interlocutory decree is silent upon the subject; but it is at least arguable that the interlocutory decree does by implication prohibit such, because to do so would be an active, as distinct from a passive, means employed in continuance and furtherance of the existing strike. However, the question is but a moot one, because there was no evidence of the payment of strike benefits or out-of-work benefits while the interlocutory decree was in force.

"In September, 1910, the International Photo-Engraving Union of North America made a call for an assessment of a certain sum per week upon all members of that union, which included all local photo-engravers' unions, for a period of four to eight weeks from the first week in October, 1910. The call purported to be for the purpose of raising money to pay out-of-work benefits to members of one union in Boston and in such other cities as the executive council might decide upon. It seems clear that there is and can be no real distinction between strike benefits and out-of work benefits. The purpose is the same and the object to be accomplished is the same, to-wit: to afford relief to those whose employment is conditioned upon their inability to secure employment in shops maintaining conditions approved by the executive council.

Lewis and Kohlmetz Exempt.

"After the final decree, money raised under this call was sent from time to time from Philadelphia to Boston, to Maguire, one of the defendants, for distribution among the striking unemployed; and he, as he has received it, has distributed it as he was directed. No evidence was offered that Lewis or Kohlmetz did or did not assist or take part in such distributions. The plaintiffs on November 9th filed a petition that writs of attachment issue against the defendants in that they are in contempt because they have acted in violation of the final decree, in that they have directly or indirectly paid strike benefits or caused them to be paid to each striking employe of the plaintiffs for the purpose of supporting and continuing said strike and for the purpose of compelling the plaintiffs to enter into an agreement with said union as such to unionize their shop.

"I find that the finding that there had been no violation of that injunction (a temporary injunction) up to the entry of the final decree is to be found and adjudged as to violations of the final decree up to the time of the hearing before me, save as the payment of the strike benefits or out-of-work benefits may be found to be such. And this statement leads us to the crux of the whole case for contempt: Was the injunction in force when the benefits were paid? If it was, these defendants are guilty of contempt.

Members Had a right to Quit.

"As I have before stated no evidence was offered to show that the union, in the language of the decree, existed 'as such.' No evidence, in other words, that it was or could be a legal entity; an organization which could and did exist other than an aggregation of individual members who happened for the time being to have associated themselves under the style of photo-engravers' union.

"It seems to me quite clear upon principle that the members of this union who are or were once employes of the several plaintiffs, more than 200 in number, could, while in their several employments, as matter of right, terminate their several noncontractual relations, and, as a matter of power, repudiate their several non-contractual relations, out liability to respond in damages for procuring breaches of contract by each or for the consequences of a conspiracy arising from their collective action. Of course, so far as their acts were a violation of contract, each would be liable

for his own wrong. What each one may do for himself does not become a wrong, illegal or a conspiracy because by reason of community of interest they act collectively.

Ready to Say Strike Was Called Off.

"If in a case like this, where substantially all members of the union are engaged in a common employment and bound together by a community of interest, the union may be said with truth to exist as such, and if it has no right, as it has not, to cause its members to commit breaches of its contracts, nevertheless in this case, neither it nor its officers have violated the injunction, because at a meeting called on October 24, 1910, before this injunction went into effect, at which meeting all striking employes then in Boston and out of employment and present and voting, the strike was declared off. It is to be noted that the strike went into effect by vote of the employes, through members of this union, and was declared off by an almost unanimous vote at a special meeting called to pass upon the question—136 voting for, and one against, the single vote against being cast by a non-striking employe.

"It was argued that this vote was a fake and that the strike continued by the order, inducements or converts of the union notwithstanding, because no notice was formally given to the employers, because, with the exception of Clause 8, the other demands contained in the circular letters of the union were retained and insisted upon, and because the men did not seek to return to work. There is ground for this argument, but it is founded on suspicion and not proof. On the other hand, it was admitted for the purpose of the trial that 136 men stood ready and present to testify that the strike was called off in good faith and that the men as employes and not members of the union refused to return to work until, by collective bargaining they could obtain at least some part, the whole if possible, of the circular demands.

Comment on Testimony.

"It would be a waste of time to analyze the testimony. Much of it on either side was not commendable; it was false in spirit though perhaps true in fact. It was diplomatic, it was not intended for the elucidation of truth, but for victory. It might have deceived the court and in consequence a wrong might have been done.

"If the evidence was sufficient to establish the contempt I am of the opinion that a court of equity ought not to punish contemners when to do so would be to give to the petitioners an undeserved victory. It must not be overlooked on these cases that what is sought by the petitioners is not, primarily, punishment for the defendants, because the dignity of the commonwealth has been offended or the court insulted and her mandates scorned, but revenge and satisfaction because they have failed to realize the advantage in the fight which seemed to have been put into their hands by the court's order.

"To obtain such an advantage in a court of equity it would seem to be necessary that the petitioner should seek and pursue redress with the single purpose to have the truth prevailed. However, in this case, there is no need of the application of such a principle, as upon the evidence I find the strike was called off before the issuing of the final decree, and that neither of the defendants, nor the union as such, have since acted in violation of its commands."

CHILD-LABOR LEGISLATION IN EUROPE.

Child-labor legislation in six European countries—Austria, Belgium, France, Germany, Italy and Switzerland—is the subject of an article printed in Bulletin 89 of the Bureau of Labor of the Department of Commerce and Labor. All of these nations have recognized the existence of a child-labor problem and have attempted to solve it by means of legislation restricting the gainful employment of children and by providing a corps of officials whose special task it is to secure compliance with the terms of the law. The experience of Germany and of Switzerland in this direction is peculiarly suggestive for the United States, because there, as in this country, there is division of legislative and administrative powers between a central government and the local governments.

This article, the results of a study by Dr. C. W. A. Veditz, is not confined to a presentation of the details of the law concerning child labor, but discusses as well the relation of the school and labor laws, the organization and actual work of the labor inspectors, and the present extent and nature of child labor in these countries.

In most of the countries included in this study the limitations upon child labor are not all found in legislative enactments. In many cases the laws themselves constitute merely a framework, which is filled out by means of numerous decrees, ordinances, police regulations, and other legislative or administrative measures. These measures sometimes constitute a relaxation of the rules laid down by the statute, when, for instance, the administrative authorities are given far-reaching power to set up "exceptions"

to and "exemptions" from tne operations of the laws, and exercise this power in such a manner and on such a scale as partially to abrogate the law. Sometimes, on the other hand, administrative measures result in a much stricter regulation of child labor than appears on the face of the law.

Austrian legislation fixes the regular age of factory employment for children at 14 years, but children of 12 and 13 may be employed if such employment does not interfere with school, is not detrimental to health, and does not exceed 8 hours a day. Below 12 years no regular industrial employment is permitted. In a considerable list of occupations regarded as dangerous or injurious no employment under 14 is permitted, and in many the employment of children of 14 and 15 is much restricted. The hours of labor for children under 16 must not exceed 11, though for a few industries 12 hours are permitted. Night work between the hours of 8 and 5 is prohibited for all children under 16, except that in industries with special needs night work is permitted for children of 14 and 15.

The complaint is frequent in the reports of the labor inspectors that the staff of inspectors is insufficient to carry out the laws with any degree of severity and that the increase in the number of inspectors has not kept pace with the increase in the number of establishments subject to inspection. Only one-fourth the children under 16 actually in industrial employment have the benefit of an inspector's visit during a single year. A large number of establishments subject to the law have never, according to the reports, been inspected even once, and to inspect all of them with the present staff would require fifty-nine years.

A recent Austrian official investigation into the extent and nature of gainful employment among school children under 14 years of age indicates that in various parts of the Empire the proportion of these children regularly at work varies from 20 to nearly 60 per cent. A large proportion of the working pupils are employed in agriculture and domestic service, oftentimes at kinds of work which require more strength than children under 14 may reasonably be supposed to possess. Orphaned children and illegitimate children furnish a relatively larger quota of child laborers than the other pupils. n several of the Provinces it was discovered that half of the working pupils began work before they were 8 years old and a considerable number began before they attained the school age of 6 years.

In Belgium the law regulating child labor permits industrial employment at 12 years, although between 12 and 16 the conditions of work are much restricted. For an extended list of occupations regarded as dangerous or injurious, employment and even presence in the factory is entirely prohibited. For children not exceed 6. For children under 16 the hours in many industries are limited to 10, though in the cotton industry the limit is 11½ per day, or 66 per week, and in other textile industries the limit hours of 9 and 5 is prohibited for males is 11 per day. Night work between the under 16 and all females under 21 years in a list including many industries.

In Belgium the law regulating child labor permits industrial employment at 12 years, although between 12 and 16 the conditions of work are much restricted. For an extended list of occupations regarded as dangerous or injurious, employment and even presence in the factory is entirely prohibited. For children under 13 the hours of work per day must not exceed 6. For children under 16 the hours in many industries are limited to 10, though in the cotton industry the limit is 11½ per day, or 66 per week, and in other textile industries the limit is 11 per day. Night work between the hours of 9 and 5 is prohibited for males under 16 and all females under 21 years in a list including many industries.

In Belgium, also, the number of inspectors is reported as inadequate, and inspectors complain that the fines imposed for violation of law are altogether too low to produce proper deterrent effect, particularly in view of the numberless devices employed by certain manufacturers to circumvent the law.

In France the age at which industrial employment may legally begin is 13, but if the school requirements are satisfied and a physician's certificate of physical fitness can be secured, employment may begin at 12. In occupations regarded as dangerous, injurious, or unhealthful, employment under 18 is prohibited, or even presence in certain classes of factories. The hours of labor are limited to 10 per day. Night work between the hours of 9 and 5 is prohibited for all children under 18.

In France the official statistics show that the number of inspectors has increased over 30 per cent during the past 15 years, while the number of establishments inspected has doubled and the number of persons employed therein has increased 65 per cent. At the end of 1908 there were still 173,000 establishments, subject to inspection, that had never been visited at all. Many of the visited establishments had not been inspected for two or three years, for in 1908 the officials were able to inspect only 162,000 establishments, each departmental inspector visiting during that year at least once an average of over 1,200 concerns.

Certain provisions of the French law, like that of a medical examination of all children believed by the inspectors to be engaged in occupations injurious to physical development, are considered by most of the inspectors to be somewhat illusory. Much the same thing is true of the provision that all child laborers must have an age certificate. Frequently the certificates are altered or carelessly made out, or actually forged. This has been the case to a notable extent in connection with the large numbers of Italian children imported into France by padrones for distribution among glassworks and tile yards of France, as well as for employment in bootblacking and chimney sweeping. This system of importation became so serious as to lead to international negotiations between Italy and France with a view to its curtailment.

The French inspectors complain of leniency in punishing violations of the law, just as in other countries covered by this study. The inspectors report great resourcefulness, both on the part of employers and children, in escaping detection. To stimulate the agility of children in disappearing when the inspectors visit their works some glass manufacturers have offered prizes for the children who could hide themselves most quickly at a given signal.

The German child-labor law permits industrial employment to begin at 14 years, although work not exceeding 6 hours per day may begin at 13 if the required school attendance has been completed. For occupations considered as dangerous or injurious, the employment of children is successful revolt early in 1908 of the rich prohibited, or is permitted only under special regulations. For children under 16 years the hours of work are limited to 10 and night work is prohibited between the hours of 8:30 and 5:30.

In many respects the most radical departure in child-labor legislation on the Continent is found in the German child-labor law of 1903, which attempts to regulate the employment of children in their own homes and under the direction of their parents. This law owes its enactment largely to the systematic investigation inaugurated by a national organization of school teachers who became convinced that the factory laws had in many instances driven the child laborers out of the factories into home industries and into non-industrial pursuits not reached by previous legislation. The new law is not proving easy of enforcement, and some time will be required to draw valid conclusions in regard to its actual effects. The German inspectors are able to visit only about half of the establishments subject to the factory laws. In some states of the empire only one-fourth are inspected. Here, as in other countries, only a small proportion of the offenses reported against the law were in any way punished.

In Italy the law fixes the age at which industrial work may be begun at 12 years, though for all workers under 15 years certain restrictions are imposed, including the requirements of a physician's certificate of physical fitness, and in dangerous and injurious occupations employment is entirely prohibited. The hours of labor are limited to 11 per day between the ages of 12 and 15. Night work between the hours of 8 and 6 (or between 9 and 5 from April to September) is prohibited for persons under 15 years and for all females.

The Italian experience with their factory inspection has been too short to justify any general conclusion with regard to its efficiency. The system, in fact, does not yet apply adequately to the kingdom as a whole, but only to certain industrial portions.

In Switzerland the federal law prohibits the factory employment of children under 14 years, but for dangerous or injurious occupations, which include an extended list, employment may not begin under 16. The maximum hours of labor per day under 16 years are 11. For all employees under 18 years night work between the hours of 8 and 6 (or between 8 and 5 during June, July and August) is entirely prohibited.

Switzerland presents a bewildering variety of cantonal labor laws, as well as considerable divergence in the enforcement of the federal law. The matter of the revision of the entire law is under consideration, and the enactment of a new law is expected in Switzerland at an early day.

A striking feature of the study in Switzerland relates to the employment of school children outside of school hours. A recent investigation furnished much detailed information showing the employment of very large numbers of children working long hours and at night under such conditions.

CAPITAL AND LABOR.

Most Rev. Diomede Falconio, Apostolic Delegate to United States, Speaks.

At the recent convention of the Federation of American Catholic Societies held in New Orleans, Most Rev. Diomede Falconio, the apostolic delegate to the United States, spoke upon the vital question of capital and labor. He said in part:

"Human society has its origin from God, and is constituted of two classes of people, namely, of the rich and of the poor; which respectively represent capi-

tal and labor. Now, as God is a God of peace and justice, so the normal relations between these two classes should be of a mutual confidence and harmony. To obtain this happy end, each class should faithfully comply with its respective duties, and one should respect the rights of the other. However, men often refuse to submit to this divine legislation, and evil consequences naturally follow. This disregard of God's divine laws relative to the acquisition and the proper use of wealth is causing at the present time, more than ever, such distrust between these two classes representing capital and labor, that it is feared that it will break asunder altogether, and at any moment the fraternal bonds which should unite them.

"And indeed, in our days, society is distracted by an internal deadly struggle which often breaks forth here and there and threatens at any moment a general conflagration, and what appears more distressing, and is becoming more bitter in proportion to the growth of poverty and the improper use of wealth. In consequence, capital and labor divide mankind into two great bodies, arming themselves for a deadly, struggle, and this deadly strike will surely come, unless some efficient remedy is found.

"May I ask, Is there any power upon earth able to arrest this mortal conflict by harmonizing the interests of both parties, and bringing about an equitable and peaceful solution? Many able and learned sociologists have studied the problem, and have suggested remedies. However, no relief has as yet been obtained, and the problem is growing steadily more intricate and menacing, and there is no apparent prospect that it will ever be solved by mere human theories, hence we must look for relief from the eternal laws of God.

"'Man, know thyself! all wisdom centers there,' said a philosopher. Men are distracted by these fraticidal wars, because they have forgotten what they are, and the end for which they were created. This is the real cause of the disorder. Then let men remember that they were not created like brutes, who have no aspirations for a higher destiny beyond the grave; that the primary end of their creation is to solve and serve God upon earth, in order that they may enjoy Him afterwards forever in heaven; that to attain this end they must love and respect one another, live in justice and charity, each respecting the just rights of the other. These are the fundamental principles inscribed in the hearts of men, and beautifully expressed in the following words, "Do to others what you wish that others should do to you; and what you are unwilling that others should do to you, do not do to them." These fundamental principles of equity and justice were emphasized in the most explicit manner by the Redeemer of Mankind, when He, contrary to the doctrines of pagan philosophers, urged all men to live as members of the same family and to love one another as brothers. This love was to be the distinctive characteristic by which Christ's followers were to be recognized. If this law of fraternal love were universally observed and were deeply rooted in the hearts of men, would be powerful enough to prevent disorders of any kind and to unite all classes into one great Christian brotherhood.

"The church, after the example of our Blessed Lord, has always inculcated this law of universal fraternity, and has always carefully watched that the interests of two classes of people should not clash, but should be properly directed for the individual and the general welfare of all. The following are her doctrines on this important subject—doctrines strongly enforced by Leo XIII in his immortal encyclical letter, 'Rerum Novarum.'

"All men are equal before God and the law. They are equal in regard to their common origin, their final destiny, and their regeneration through Christ, our Divine Lord. However, society as it exists, and as it has been established by God himself, is composed of unequal elements—to make them all equal is impossible, and would mean the destruction of human society.

"Hence it follows that, according to the ordinance of God, human society is composed of superiors and subjects, masters and servants, rich and poor, learned and unlettered, nobles and plebeians. Yet, notwithstanding the inequality of conditions in social life, all are commanded to be united in the sacred bonds of fraternal charity, helping one another in order to secure their material and spiritual welfare here on earth and, finally, their reward in heaven. The church, speaking directly to the poor and laboring classes, says, 'Remember that you were created for a better and happier end than for merely earthly possessions and transitory enjoyment.'

"This happy end is connected with the zealous observance of your duties according to your state in life. Hence, perform fully and faithfully the works which have been freely and according to equity agreed upon; do not injure the property or outrage the persons of your masters. Abstain from every act of violence and injustice. It is upon these conditions that you will be able to bear patiently the burden of your transitory life and assure for yourselves the everlasting treasures of heaven. To the rich and the

capitalist he says, 'Do not make your gold and silver a mammon of iniquity, Pay just wages to your workmen; do no injury to their just savings by violence or fraud; and not expose them to corrupting seductions and scandals; do not impose upon them labor which is beyond their strength, or unsuitable for their age or sex. Succor the poor and the indigent. Be to them an example of economy and honesty, and show yourself to them rather as a benevolent father than as a stern master. Remember that you all are alike brothers in the same great human family, and, as such, you must love and respect one another. Remember also that on the day of judgment a special account will be demanded of you by God himself, and you shall be judged according to the manner in which you shall have observed these commandments.

These are, in brief, the teachings of the Catholic church, and if the members of each class would abide by them, their interests would be easily reconciled and mutual confidence restored. We would hear no more of oppression and injustice, of persecutions and of hatreds of classes, of demonstrations and threats of wars, but every member of the social body would feel secure and content in his own state of life. By the few observations which I have made, it is clear that the solution of the great labor question which is now distracting society, depends on the observance of God's divine laws, and that independent of these eternal laws human efforts will fail to heal the terrific breach which exists between capital and labor. And, indeed, it has been through the action of men overthrowing the designs which Providence had in view in the formation and development of human society that instead of mankind being grouped into two harmonious classes, beneficial each to the other, we have on the one hand fortunes of vast magnitude, often spent in wild extravagances, and on the other destitution and suffering. Society at large by rejecting the salutary principles of the Christian religion has become guilty of these wrongs which have grown in proportion to the decrease of the religious sentiment amongst the people. Beware, then, lest you be led astray by those so-called lovers of the people, who, under pretence of protecting the rights of laboring classes, endeavor to engender hatred and a spirit of revenge amongst men, to the great detriment of that peace and harmony which should reign in Christian society.

"Dear friends, as Catholics and as members of Catholic societies, you have only one leader to follow, Jesus Christ, our blessed Redeemer, who for the love of us, and in order to set before us an example, became the putative son of a poor workingman, and led a life of sorrow and privation, till, at last, He died for us upon the cross.

"In conclusion, while I offer my sincere congratulations to the Federation of the Catholic societies of the United States, for all the good which it has done its foundation, I cherish the ardent hope that it will continue to prosper."

TRADES UNIONISM.

Trades unionism has been the Rip Van Winkle of the labor world. Since its awakening from its lengthy sleep it is giving every indication of its return to life and activity.

The trades union label is an emblem of purity, honest labor and fair conditions, and is never placed upon the product of tenement houses, sweatshop or penal institutions.

The song of the heavenly choir is no sweeter tone than the words of an honest man who refuses to sacrifice his manhood for a mess of pottage, and accept a job as the price of the betrayal of his union principles.

Everything has its price, is the phrase coined by the unscrupulous trusts; who accept their own standard of morality and principle as a safe criterion to judge the balance of humanity by.

Honesty is the best policy, and is proven; for when the laborer in the industrial world is honest in his self-communion, he immediately embraces trades unionism as the means of self-elevation, morally and physically—Allied Printing Trades Journal.

THE SUSPENDED MEMBERS.

A smile is often forced over our otherwise staid countenance when listening to the ravings of suspended members in relating their troubles with their union, the slurs and half-made charges of gross neglect of duty and graft that the officers of some particular local that suspended them are guilty of, and all because they did not break the laws of the international or local union to give them something they were not entitled to. And upon investigation I find that they are ones that were forced into the union and were always on the verge of suspension, and always belong to that class of members called "knockers." But some men are not satisfied at being at the bottom of the ladder of manhood, but try to get further down.—Journeyman Barber.

EDITORIAL

PETER W. COLLINS

A FEW PASSING THOUGHTS ON ORATORS. Oratory is credited with being an art. Perhaps, this is true, but if so it is the art of work and hard work at that. We often hear men comment on the wonderful gift of oratory, the natural born gift that great public speakers possess. But let us disillusion ourselves. There is no wonderful natural gift of oratory. The only oratory that can be called such, is the result of diligent study, thorough knowledge and sound judgment. Labor is the foundation of success in oratory and while it is true that many men even after great labor and diligent application may never become orators it is also true that few men, if any, without study and work to perfect in this field, will ever become real orators. By the way our definition of an orator is not the flamboyant individual, with a large capacity for air blasts but with little solid knowledge in his makeup.

Eloquence, is simply the putting of one's whole self and energy into what one has to say, and saying it. By this we don't wish to be understood as saying that eloquence is only mere expression in a natural way.

Eloquence rightly understood is convincing others that your own convictions are sincere. To persuade them that your convictions are right as well as sincere is another matter.

Perseverance and conviction are properly the tools of eloquence and he who can use both to perfection is an orator. But you say orators are born, not made. You are right in a sense and wrong in another.

Orators are born, but not as orators, and are not made, but are developed. Most men have in themselves the seed that can b developed into oratory because all men are human and oratory is but the expression of the man.

Therefore to develop the seed we simply strengthen the man, that is make him a man in every respect.

First, we develop his character or rather he is taught to develop character himself appreciating it as the essential.

Train him in the simple essentials of human endeavor. Teach him to understand his relations to his fellows, to all men, his duties and responsibilities.

In fact without elaboration we make him a man. Ordinary common sense is one of the factors in the development of orators and of public speakers as it is of ordinary every day good men. The man who exercises his good sense will find little difficulty in succeeding as a talker if he has some ability and talent which to a degree most men have. Complacency is one of the worst hindrances to success in a speaker for by it he not only loses that natural modesty necessary for success in speaking, but

he seldom succeeds in impressing any one but himself. In fact, complancency is worse than stage fright for one can be cured of over-nervousness but hardly ever of conceit and over consciousness.

Now, in speaking to an audience, the essential thing is naturalness. It is not to be supposed that one can succeed without knowledge of his subject or without sincerity in his convictions, because such a man can never succeed as an orator.

Having something to say and saying it in a natural manner makes a successful speaker and when a man tries to say something when he has nothing to say he simply makes himself ridiculous.

Knowledge of a subject is indeed a positive essential to a clear and proper presentation of it for no matter the talent (for painting pictures in words) one may have, it won't cover the defect of a lack of knowledge.

If one is to deliver an address on the life and character of some great man, (for instance Washington), let him remember that generalities wear out mighty quick and his address will be a fizzle unless he knows his subject.

First, then he ought to know who his hero was and what he did and Second, what moral is to be drawn from his career.

Now this isn't apparently a very complex situation but one of seeming simplicity. And so it is. All it needs is preparation, study and investigation and the application of common sense in telling the story.

No figures of speech are necessary for if the address is worth the candle it will inspire natural eloquence and be interesting and instructive as a result.

It is indeed embarassing to an audience to painfully sit through a discourse that is disconnected and ill prepared.

Perhaps at banquets we suffer most from the long winded and bombastic than we do at other gatherings for here the good nature of such gatherings is imposed upon to a greater degree than at others, not excepting the political rally.

We have heard speakers—so-called, tire a gathering at a banquet with a half hour's manuscript reading that would have been quite proper at a pedagogic convention but entirely out of place at a banquet.

The man who has a message; something really worth hearing will have neither difficulty in delivery or in interesting his audience. If his subject is a good one and he is full of it, let him deliver it with force and therefore make eloquent his delivery and decidedly so his discourse.

The fault with many otherwise good talkers is that they talk too long and get the reputation of bores when they might with the application of good sense, make an enviable reputation, and interesting convincing speakers.

The greater a man's reputation as an orator or speaker the greater should be his discretion and good judgment in length of talk, for the greater a man's reputation grows, the greater also his inclination to verbosity.

Above all things don't get theatrical for with it comes cold shivers

to an audience and chills of this character are not conducive to enthusiasm.

Don't harp on the personal pronoun I but leave it out even when you feel it essential to put it in .

If you are to succeed you must make the audience forget you, but not your subject, and if you keep yourself in mind instead of your subject you can neither convince yourself nor the audience.

It is a splendid thing to be self possessed but don't think self possession means lack of nervousness. Self possession rightly comes from a thorough knowledge of your subject and the little nervousness before hand is rather a spur to success for it keeps your mind busy as well as your heart. Therefore don't get that complacency of manner which discourages slight trepidation.

SELF RESPECT. Perhaps as great as any other quality of a man's character is that of self-respect.

Some men fail to appreciate the value of self-respect. They not only demean themselves in the eyes of others by a lack of it but demean themselves in their own eyes through the sacrifice of their self-respect.

No matter how much ability a man may possess unless he possesses self-respect, his ability can be no real permanent value.

No matter how great a man's position may be in the community or his reputation among his fellows, unless he appreciates and has self-respect he lacks a necessary asset in the making of real men.

Self-respect is that quality in men which makes possible the doing of things that are right, and the doing of things that are right by men is what makes possible the preservation of the rights of all men.

A self-respecting man will neither shirk his responsibility nor his duties nor will he refuse to insist on the maintenance of his rights.

A self-respecting man is not an egotist. His self-respect cannot even be remotely attached to conceit and few self-respecting men are men of conceit.

Self-respect therefore is one of two qualities of a real man that adds strength to character and gives good example. Its possession is a real asset and its application makes possible permanent returns.

LOOKING AHEAD. The status of the labor movement in the present day shows conclusively that its progress during the past few years has been rapid and permanent.

The outlook for the future is indeed promising and ought to inspire every man connected with the movement with the desire to help in some degree, its future progress.

In looking ahead therefore to the coming years, the men of labor should see to it that the fundamental principles of trade unionism are maintained and not subverted for any interest whatsoever either within or without the movement.

In the mapping out of the work of the future it is essential that the direction of effort for progress and stability be made along those lines that

are clear cut and definite as the ideals in the building up of the movement during the past years.

Labor indeed has a splendid future before it and the results to the men of labor will be in proportion to the character of the work done in the advancement of its principles.

Let us therefore, to the best of our ability, assist in the work which is being done for the progress of this movement of the workers, and irrespective of the claims of any other so-called movement of the workers, the trade union movement stands as the only movement of the workers for the advancement of the conditions of the workers and the conditions of our common citizenship.

As the years go by we can therefore look back on the past, feeling that our effort has been of value and that its direction has been the erecting of constructive effort on the solid foundation of trade union principles.

ANOTHER INSTANCE OF SHORT SIGHTEDNESS.

The Live and Let Live Policy Does Not Seem to Appeal to This Merchant.

By H. J. Conway,
of Retail Clerks' Organization.

The Fort Worth Union Banner in its issue of September 24, 1910, contains the following item:

"Sam Gilbert, one of the Main street clothing men, who owes nearly everything he has to the trade of the workingmen, refuses to close his store at the regulation time—6 o'clock. This refusal has compelled the Retail Clerks' Union to withdraw their union store card.

"All union men will take notice and pass the word around.

"Not only is this action unfair to the clerks, and to organized labor in general, but it is unfair to Gilbert's competitors, and a man who is unfair is not entitled to the patronage of fair people."

This is simply another instance demonstrating the utter falsity of the position of the few merchants throughout the country who refuse to comply with a request for a humane condition.

Out of all the places of business in the city of Fort Worth this is the one and only firm who now refuses to close its place of business at the same hour at which its competitors close.

What excuse can a merchant or firm reasonably offer for the obstinacy that refuses to act as fairly as his brother merchants do? It could not be the loss of trade, for all other stores are closed and his chances are, therefore, equal as far as hours are concerned.

It can only be interpreted as the act of another individual who has had a dream and imagines he has seen the light of day, and in that vision has come to him a notion that he could resist the demand for a fair and humane condition honorably and honestly made by the salespeople in his city, and complied with by all other merchants. And so he refuses to close his place of business at 6 o'clock in the evening.

This case recalls to the writer's mind a conversation that he held at one time with a merchant who made the statement: "I pay my people, and I must have a good day's work in return." When asked what he considered a good day's work his answer was: "I want my help to come early in the morning, 6 o'clock, and to work until 7 o'clock at night, and to keep busy every minute of that time." It is needless to add that the gentleman changed his mind.

No piece of machinery, regardless of how strong it may be, can continue to run smoothly and satisfactorily without proper care, attention and period of rest. So also must the human body and brain, the most delicate machinery ever known or ever constructed, have opportunity for rest and recreation, placing each in a better position to do more work and do it more skillfully and energetically.

It is especially to be regretted that any individual would attempt to block any humane request made by the toilers of today. It is evidence of a lack of wisdom as well as a lack of fairness to his competitors in business, and such shortcomings on the part of any employer should be the occasion for effective and concerted action on the part of the union people and their friends, making it apparent to the merchant in question as well as to all others interested that he could keep his store open forever, if he chose, but would do no business.

POPULAR GOVERNMENT

(By Jonathan Bourne, Jr)

The justice of all laws rests primarily on the integrity, ability, and disinterestedness of the individuals enacting them, those construing them, and those administering them. On this assumption, I believe the remarks I intend to make have a bearing on all legislation, and hence do not hesitate to present them now while we have the interstate-commerce bill under consideration.

I think all will concede that the times seem awry. Unrest exists throughout the civilized world. People are speculating as to the causes. Daily uncertainty grows stronger as to future events.

In my opinion, the basic cause is that people have lost confidence in many of their public servants and bitterly resent attempted dictatorship by "would-be" political bosses and representatives of special interests who desire to direct public servants and legislation for their own selfish interests rather than assist in the enactment of laws guaranteeing justice to all and special privilege to none.

Successful and permanent government must rest primarily on recognition of the rights of men and the absolute sovereignty of the people. Upon these principles is built the superstructure of our Republic. Their maintenance and perpetuation measure the life of the Republic. These policies, therefore, stand for the rights and liberties of the people and for the power and majesty of the Government as against the enemies of both.

The people have been shocked by the number of business and political exposures which have been brought out in the last ten years.

At the time of Mr. Roosevelt's inauguration the tendency was to measure national prosperity by property rather than by personal liberty. The commercial force of society was rapidly throttling the police power of the Government. Political machines and bosses dictated the legislative and administrative destinies of many communities and States. Mr. Roosevelt, with his experience in practical politics, familiarity with governmental operations, inherent honesty, dynamic energy, and limitless courage, demonstrated that he measured up to the needs of the time and assumed leadership for reinstatement of the police power of the Government in supremacy over the commercial force of society. To him belongs credit for reestablishment of these two great forces in their proper relative positions. He awakened the public conscience, and the result is a struggle throughout the Nation between the advocates of what I would term "popular government" and the advocates of delegated government.

Direct Selection of Public Servants.

In many instances the people have lost confidence in their public servants, the same as many stockholders have lost confidence in corporation management. The remedy in government is the direct selection by the people of their public servants, with the resultant accountability of the public servant to the people, and not to a political machine or boss. I purposely use the word "selection" rather than "nomination," for to my mind it more clearly expresses the idea of the responsibility of good citizenship. Selection implies the careful investigation of all and the resultant choice of one. The remedy in corporation management is rigid responsibility to government; equal obedience to laws and equal accountability to stockholders, giving the Government and the stockholders the fullest publicity of its operations, including absolute honesty and simplicity of its accounts, thus protecting the rights of the people and insuring to all the stockholders proportional enjoyment in the fruits of successful management.

Mr. President, I will endeavor to deal in my remarks with what I believe to be the great issue, not only in this country, but throughout the civilized world, namely, popular against delegated government.

Much has been said in favor of representative government. I believe in a truly representative government, but where the selection of public servants is left to a political machine or boss, as is frequently the case under our convention system, the tendency is toward misrepresentative, and not a truly representative, form of government, notwithstanding the election is supposedly by the people.

People Capable of Self-Government.

There are doubtless some people who honestly believe that the people as a whole have not reached the stage of development qualifying them individually to participate in government. Others whom I credit with the intelligence which I have seen manifested by them in other directions assert the inability of the people to govern themselves as an excuse rather than a conviction; but I, Mr. President, from thirty years' experience in practical politics, am absolutely convinced not only that the people are fully capable of govrening themselves, but that they are decidely the best judges as to those individuals to whom they shall delegate the truly representative power.

Individual selfishness, cupidity, and ambition are minimized in the party or general electorate selections of public servants; good general service is demanded

by the electorate, special service by the individual.

Hence my advocacy of popular government. By popular government I mean direct legislation as far as practicable, popular selection of candidates, and such regulation of political campaigns as will secure fair and honest elections. Popular selection under the present stage of evolution of our Government can be obtained only by direct primary laws and complete elimination of convention and caucus nomination of public officers.

Time was when a few self-constituted leaders in Oregon politics arrogated to themselves the prerogatives of government and made their assumption effective through illicit combinations and the use of money in any and every quarter where necessary to their purposes of control—that is, they commercialized conventions, legislatures, and the administrative branches of the city, county, and state government. It was a condition peculiar to Oregon. It obtained, and I believe still obtains in a more or less flagrant degree, in every State in the Union; and it had its boldest, most unscrupulous executive genius in Boss Tweed, who, recognizing the opportunity of the crook in government by party through convention nominations, declared he did not care who elected the candidates so long as he had the power to nominate the ticket.

Revolting against these conditions, the State which I have the honor, in part, to represent, has evolved the best-known system of popular government, and, because of this conviction, I take this opportunity of presenting not only to the Senate, but to the country a brief analysis question, with my own deductions as to the improvement they show and the merits they possess.

Australian Ballot Law.

Oregon in 1891 adopted the Australian ballot, which insures secrecy, prevents intimidation, and reduces the opportunity for bribery. This, of course, is a prerequisite to any form of popular government.

Registration Law.

Supplementing the Australian ballot law, Oregon enacted in 1899 a registration law applying to general elections and enlarged its scope in 1904 in the law creating a direct primary. This law requires registration prior to voting in either the general or the primary election, and provides that before voting in a party primary the voter must, under oath, register his party affiliation. Registration begins five months prior to the General Election. Registration books are closed ten days prior to the primary election and opened again four days after the primary, and then kept open until about twenty days before the general election. A voter may register either by appearing at the office of the county clerk or by signing registration blanks before a notary public or justice of the peace.

Upon the registration books are entered the full name of the voter, his registration number, date of registration, his occupation, age, nativity, date and place of naturalization, if any, and his place of residence. In order to guard against fraud, it is required that the voter shall give his street and number, and if he is the head of the house he occupies, he must show that fact and give the number of the room he occupies and upon what floor of the building it is located. He must also sign the register, if he can write. If he is unable to write his name, the reason must be given. If his inability is due to a physical defect, the nature of the infirmity must be noted. If it is due to illiteracy, a physical description of the man must be noted in the register.

All these facts are entered in precinct registers which are placed in the hands of election judges and clerks on election day, so that illegal voting may be prevented.

Any registered voter may be challenged and every nonregistered voter is considered challenged. An unregistered person qualified as an elector may be permitted to vote upon signing an affidavit setting forth all the facts required in registration and also securing the affidavits of six owners of real property to the effect that they personally know him and his residence and believe all his statements to be true.

Thus the greatest boon of American citizenship, namely, the right to participate in government, is protected, and dead men, repeaters, and nonresidents can no longer be voted in Oregon.

Initiative and Referendum.

Oregon's next step in popular government was the adoption of the initiative and referendum amendment to the constitution, which amendment was adopted in June, 1902, by a vote of 62,024 to 5,668. It provides that legislative authority shall be vested in a legislative assembly, but that the people reserve to themselves the power to propose laws and amendments to the constitution and to enact or reject the same at the polls independent of the legislative assembly, and also reserve power to approve or reject at the polls any act of the legislature. An initiative petition must be signed by 8 per cent of the legal voters, as shown by the vote for supreme judge at the last preceding general election, and filed with the secretary of state not less than four months before the election.

A referendum petition need be signed

by only 5 per cent of the voters and filed with the secretary of state within ninety days after final adjournment of the legislature which passed the bill on which the referendum is demanded. The legislature may itself refer to the people any act passed by it. The veto power of the governor does not extend to any measure referred to the people.

State Publishes Publicity Pamphlets.

In addition to the publicity incident to the circulation of the petitions, the law provides that the secretary of state shall, at the expense of the State, mail to every registered voter in the State a printed pamphlet containing a true copy of the title and text of each measure to be submitted to the people, and the proponents and opponents of the law have the right to insert in said pamphlet, at the actual cost to themselves of paper and printing only, such arguments as they see fit to make. These pamphlets must be mailed not later than fifty-five days before a general election and twenty days before a special election.

The initiative develops the electorate, placing directly upon them the responsibility for legislation enacted under its provision; the referendum elevates the legislature because of the possibility of its use in case of undesirable legislation. Brains, ideas, and argument, rather than money, intimidation, and logrolling govern the standards of legislation.

Corporation attorneys must exercise their mental activities along constructive rather than destructive and avoidance lines. Possibility of scandal is minimized, recipients of franchises freed from the imputation of secret purchase, and general community confidence is secured.

Oregon's Experience Satisfactory.

Since that amendment was adopted, the people of Oregon have voted upon 23 measures submitted to them under the initiative, 5 submitted under the referendum, and 4 referred to the people by the legislature. Nineteen measures were submitted at one election. That the people acted intelligently is evident from the fact that in no instance has there been general dissatisfaction with the result of the vote. The measures submitted presented almost every phase of legislation, and some of them were bills of considerable length.

Results attained under direct legislation in Oregon compare so favorably with the work of a legislative assembly that an effort to repeal the initiative and referendum would be overwhelmingly defeated. No effort has ever been attempted.

It has been asserted that the people will not study a large number of meas-
its they possess.
ures, but will vote in the affirmative, regardless of the merits of measures submitted. Experience in Oregon has disproved this, for the results show that the people have exercised discriminating judgment. They have enacted laws and have adopted constitutional amendments in which they believed and have defeated those of which they did not approve.

Concrete Illustrations.

I will give several concrete illustrations:

Under the initiative in 1904 a local-option liquor law was adopted by a vote of 43,316 to 40,194. Two years later the opponents of the local-option law proposed an amendment in their interest, and this was defeated by a vote of 35,297 to 45,144. It will be noticed that in the first instance the issue was affirmatively presented, and in the second instance negatively, with a view to befogging the people, but the popular expression was the same in both.

For many years ctiy charters in Oregon had been made the trading stock of political factions in the legislature. The dominant faction amended city charters as a reward to political allies. Traffic in local legislation even went so far that it sometimes served as a consideration in election of United States Senators. But in 1906, having tired of this disregard of the interest of good municipal government, the people, acting under the initiative, adopted a constitutional amendment which took away from the legislature the power to enact or amend a city charter and vested that power in the people of the municipalities, thus establishing home rule. The amendment was adopted by a vote of 52,567 to 19,852.

In Oregon, as in many other States, there has long been a feeling that certain classes of corporations which own very little tangible property do not bear their proper share of the burden of taxation. Legislatures failed to provide a remedy. For the purpose of securing a more equitable distribution of the burden of taxation the state grange, proceeding under the initiative, proposed a law levying a gross-earnings tax of 3 per cent on sleeping car, refrigerator car, and oil car companies, which measure was adopted by a vote of 69,635 to 6,441. The grange also proposed a similar law levying a gross-earnings tax of 3 per cent on express and 2 per cent on telephone and telegraph companies, and it was adopted by a vote of 70,872 to 6,360. Each of these gross-earnings tax laws applied only to interstate business.

That the people can and will study measures and vote with discrimination is shown by the record upon two appropriation bills passed by the legislature of 1907. One of these bills proposed to increase the annual fixed appropriation for the state university from $47,500 to $125,000. The other bill appro-

priated $100,000 for construction of armories for the national guard. The referendum was demanded upon both measures, and both were submitted to a vote of the people at the general election in 1908. There was full and fair discussion through the press, at public meetings, and at sessions of the grange. The bill increasing the appropriation for the university was approved by the people by a vote of 44,115 to 40,535. The armory appropriation bill was defeated by a vote of 33,507 to 54,848.

I shall cite but one more of many instances which show the manner in which the initative has been effective in Oregon. For a great many years there had been efforts to secure adequate laws for the protection of salmon in the Columbia River, but because of conflicting interests between the upper river and the lower river, legislatures could not be induced to enact laws that would protect the fish. As a consequence the salmon fisheries were being destroyed. At the election in 1908 the upper-river fishermen proposed under the initiative a bill practically prohibiting fishing on the lower river and the lower-river fishermen proposed a bill forbidding fishing on the upper river. There was wide discussion of both bills, and the suggestion was freely made that both bills should be adopted. The people, disgusted with the failures of the legislatures to enact suitable laws for the protection of fish, followed this suggestion, and both bills were enacted. With fishing practically prohibited on both sections of the river, the legislature in 1909 responded to the popular demand by enacting, in conjunction with the legislature of the State of Washington, a fishery law which provided adequate protection. I believe I am safe in saying that this would not have been done but for the popular adoption of the two fishery bills.

I do not care to take the time of the Senate to discuss each of the measures that have been acted upon by the people of the State, but in order that those who desire may have the opportunity to observe the wide range the measures have taken and the attitude assumed toward them by the people of Oregon, I ask consent to have published in the Record in this connection a very brief summary of the titles of the measures, together with the vote upon each.

Popular vote upon measures submitted to the people of Oregon under either the initiative or referendum.

	Yes.	No.
1904.		
Direct primary law with direct selection of United States Senator [1]	56,205	16,354
Local-option liquor law [1]	43,316	40,198
1906.		
Omnibus appropriation bill, state institutions [2]	43,918	26,758
Equal suffrage constitutional amendment [1]	36,902	47,075
Local-option bill proposed by liquor people [1]	35,297	45,144
Bill for purchase by State of Barlow toll road [2]	31,525	44,527
Amendment requiring referendum on any act calling constitutional convention [1]	47,661	18,751
Amendment giving cities sole power to amend their charters [1]	52,567	19,852
Legislature authorized to fix pay of state printer [1]	63,749	9,571
Initiative and referendum to apply to all local, special, and municipal laws [1]	47,678	16,735
Bill prohibiting free passes on railroads [1]	57,281	16,779
Gross-earnings tax on sleeping, refrigerator, and oil car companies [1]	69,635	6,441
Gross-earnings tax on express, telephone, and telegraph companies [1]	70,872	6,360
1908.		
Amendment increasing pay of legislators from $120 to $400 per session [3]	19,691	68,892
Amendment permitting location of state institutions at places other than the capital [3]	41,971	40,868
Amendment reorganizing system of courts and increasing supreme judges from three to five [3]	30,243	50,591
Amendment changing general election from June to November [3]	65,728	18,590
Bill giving sheriffs control of county prisoners [2]	60,443	30,033
Railroads required to give public officials free passes [2]	28,856	59,406
Bill appropriating $100,000 for armories [2]	33,507	54,848
Bill increasing fixed appropriation for state university from $47,500 to $125,000 annually [2]	44,115	40,585
Equal-suffrage amendment [1]	36,858	58,670
Fishery bill proposed by fiish-wheel operators [1]	46,582	40,720
Fishery bill proposed by gill-net operators [1]	56,130	30,280
Amendment given cities control of liquor selling, poolrooms, theatres, etc., subject to local-option law [1]	39,442	52,346
Modified form of single-tax amendment [1]	32,066	60,871
Recall power on public officials [1]	58,381	31,002
Bill instructing legislators to vote for people's choice for United States Senators [1]	69,668	21,162
Amendment authorizing proportional-representation law [1]	48,868	34,128
Corrupt-practices act governing elections [1]	54,042	31,301
Amendment requiring indictment to be by grand jury [1]	52,214	28,487
Bill creating Hood River County [1]	43,948	26,778

1 Submitted under the initiative.
2 Submitted under the referendum upon legistative act.
3 Submitted to the people by the legislature.

Direct Legislation Not Expensive.

Anticipating the objection that direct legislation is expensive to the Senate, I will say that the submission of a total of 32 measures at three different elections in Oregon has cost the State $25,000, or an average of about $781 for each measure. At the election in 1908 there were 19 measures submitted, at a cost to the state of $12,362, or an average of about $651 each. Five of these 19 measures were submitted without argument. Upon the other 14 measures there were 19 arguments submitted, for which the authors paid the cost, amounting to $3,157.

I have no hesitancy in saying that the people of Oregon feel satisfied that they have received full value for the $25,000 they have spent for the submission of measures under the initiative and referendum. The only persons who raise the question of cost are those who would be opposed to direct legislation if it were free of cost. I think I could cite numerous instances of laws passed by the legislature which cost the people much more than $25,000 without any tangible return, and perhaps could cite a few measures which had been defeated by legislatures with resultant loss to the people of many times $25,000. The cost of legislation can not always be measured in dollars.

Peolpe Intelligent and Fair.

The people are not only intelligent, but fair and honest. When the initiative and referendum was under consideration it was freely predicted by enemies of popular government that the power would be abused and that capitalists would not invest their money in a State where property would be subject to attacks of popular passion and temporary whims. Experience has exploded this argument. There has been no hasty or ill-advised legislation. The people act calmly and deliberately and with that spirit of fairness which always characterizes a body of men who earn their living and acquire their property by legitimate means. Corporations have not been held up and blackmailed by the people, as they often have been by legislators. "Pinch bills" are unknown. The people of Oregon were never before more prosperous and contented than they are today, and never before did the State offer such an inviting field for investment of capital. Not only are two transcontinental railroads building across the State, but several interurban electric lines are under construction, and rights of way for others are in demand.

I have mentioned all of these facts for the purpose of showing that the people of my State, and, I believe, the people of every other State, can be trusted to act intelligently and honestly upon any question of legislation submitted for their approval or disapproval.

The initiative and referendum is but one of the features of popular government in Oregon. It has been the means by which other reforms and progressive laws and constitutional amendments have been secured, for it has been found that the people can not always get the laws they desire through the legislature, but can get them through resort to the initiative.

Direct Primary Law.

The next step after the adoption of the initiative and referendum was the adoption, in 1904, by a vote of 56,205 to 16,354, of a direct primary law, which is designed to supersede the old and unsatisfactory convention system. The Oregon direct primary law provides for a primary election to be held forty-five days prior to the general election at the usual polling places and with the usual three election judges and three clerks in charge, appointed by the county courts. Not more than two judges or clerks can be members of the same political party. Two sets of ballots are provided, one for the Democratic party and one for the Republican party. Any party polling 25 per cent of the vote at the previous election is brought under the provisions of the direct primary law, but thus far only the Democratic and Republican parties are affected by it.

Any legal voter may become a candidate in the primaries for nomination for any office by filing a petition signed by a certain per cent of the voters of his party. If the nomination is for a municipal or county office, the petition must include registered electors residing in at least one-fifth of the voting precincts of the county, municipality, or district. If it be a state or district office and the district comprises more than one county the petition must include electors residing in each of at least one-eight of the precincts in at least two counties in the district. If it be an office to be voted for in the State at large the petition must include electors residing in each of at least one-tenth of the precincts in each of at least seven counties of the State. If it be an office to be voted for in a congressional district the petition must include electors residing in at least one-tenth of the precincts in each of at least one-fourth of the counties in the district. The number of signers required is at least 2 per cent of the party vote in the electoral district, but not more than 1,000 signers are required for a state or congressional office nor more than 500 in any other case. Petitions must be filed for a state or district office at least

twenty days before the primary election, and for county or municipal offices fifteen days before the election. Names of the candidates are arranged on the ballots in alphabetical order. The ballot for the Republican party is printed on white paper; that for the Democratic party on blue paper; and that for any other party on yellow paper. The Australian ballot form is used in the primaries. No elector is qualified to vote at a party primary election unless he has registered and designated, under oath, his party affiliation, except that he may register at the polls on election day by filing an affidavit, verified by six freeholders of his precinct certifying his legal qualifications, in which affidavit he must also designate his party affiliation.

Party Integrity Protected.

No voter is required to designate his party affiliation in order to vote at the general election, but registration of party affiliation is a prerequisite to participation in a party primary. This requirement prevents the participation of members of one party in the primaries of another party. The right of each party to choose its own candidates is thus protected, and an evil all too common where restrictive party primary laws are not in force is avoided.

Our direct-primary law further provides that the candidates in his petition shall, among other things, agree to 'accept the nomination and will not withdraw;" and, if elected, "will qualify as an officer," implying, of course, that statement in not to exceed 100 words, and on the ballot, after his name, a legend in not to exceed 12 words, setting forth any measures or principles he especially advocates.

Statement No. 1.

In the case of a legislator's nomination, the candidate may, in addition to his statement, not exceeding 100 words specifying measures and principles he advocates, also subscribe to one of two statements, but if he does not so subscribe he shall not on that account be debarred from the ballot. It will be seen, therefore, that three courses are open to him. He may subscribe to Statement No. 1 as follows:

I further state to the people of Oregon, as well as to the people of my legislative district, that during my term of office I shall always vote for that candidate for United States Senator in Congress who has received the highest number of the people's votes for that position at the general election next preceding the election of a Senator in Congress without regard to my individual preference.

Or he may subscribe to Statement No. 2, as follows:

During my term of office I shall consider the vote of the people for United States Senator in Congress as nothing more than a recommendation which I shall be at liberty to wholly disregard if the reason for doing so seems to me to be sufficient.

Or he may be perfectly silent on the election of United States Senator. It is entirely optional with the candidate.

Popular Vote For United States Senator.

The law further provides that United States Senators may e nominated by their respective parties in the party primaries, and the candidate receiving the greatest number of votes thereby becomes the party nominee. Then, in the general election the party nominees are voted for by the people, and the individual receiving the greatest number of votes in the general election thereby becomes the people's choice for United States Senator.

Notwithstanding that primary-election law embodying these statements, particularly Statement No. 1, was passed by a popular vote of approximately 56,000 for to 16,000 against, the opponents of the law charged that the people did not know what they were doing when they voted for it. Therefore, the advocates of the election of Senators by the people and of the enforcement of Statement No. 1 submitted to the people under the initiative in 1908 the following bill:

Be it enacted by the people of the State of Oregon:

Section 1. That we, the people of the State of Oregon, hereby instruct our representatives and senators in our legislative assembly, as such officers, to vote for and elect the candidates for United States Senators from this State who receive the highest number of votes at our general elections.

Although there was no organized campaign made for the adoption of this bill other than the argument accompanying its submission, while the opponents of the primary law assailed it vehemently, the basic principle of Statement No. 1 and the election of United States Senators by the people was again indorsed by the passage of the bill by a popular vote of 69,668 for it to 21,162 against it, or by nearly 3 1-2 to 1.

How a Democrat Was Elected Senator.

Mr. President, in this connection I deem it proper to divert for a time from an explanation of our primary law and give a concrete illustration of its operation. Both my colleague, Senator Chamberlain, and myself were selected by the people and elected by the legislature under the provision of this law. Opponents of popular government, and

especially of the election of United States Senators by a direct vote of the people, have bitterly assailed Statement No. 1 of our law because a legislature, overwhelmingly Republican, elected my colleague, who was a candidate selected by the Democratic party and nominated by the whole electorate of the State as the people's choice of our State for United States Senator. Upon reflection I think every intelligent man who is honest with himself must concede that this fact, instead of being the basis of a criticism, is the highest kind of evidence as to the efficacy of the law, and every advocate of the election of United States Senators by a popular vote must realize that Oregon has evolved a plan through its Statement No. 1, provision of its primary law, wherein, in effect, the people enjoy the privilege of selecting their United States Senators, and, through the crystallization of public opinion, the legislative ratification of their action.

The Oregon legislature consists of 90 members, 30 in the senate and 60 in the house, 46 making the necessary majority on full attendance for the election of United States Senator. Fifty-one members out of 90 of the legislature which elected my colleague, Senator Chamberlain, were subscribers to Statement No. 1, making on joint ballot a majority of 6 out of a total of 90 members. All of these 51 members subscribed to Statement No. 1 pledge voluntarily and it was so subscribed to by them from a personal belief in the desirability of the popular election of United States Senators and for the purpose of securing for themselves from the electorate preferment in the election to the office sought; the consideration in exchange for such preferment was to be by them, as the legally constituted representatives of the electorate in their behalf, the perfunctory confirmation o f the people's selection of United States Senator as that choice might be ascertained under the provisions of the same law by which the legislators themselves secured nomination to office.

To further illuminate the situation, I will state that in the primaries held in April, 1908, H. M. Cake received the Republican nomination for United States Senator, and my colleague, Senator Chamberlain, then governor of the State, received the Democratic nomination for United States Senator. At the general election in June Senator Chamberlain defeated Mr. Cake, notwithstanding the State was overwhelmingly Republican, thereby developing from the Democratic candidate into the people's choice for United States Senator. The normal Republican majority in Oregon, I think, is from 5,000 to 20,000. With full recognition of overnor Chamberlain's ability and fitness for the office, the fact that for nearly six years he made the best governor Oregon ever had, and considering that undoubtedly he is the most popular man in our State, I deem it but just to the law and a proper answer to the criticism of enemies of the law that it destroys party lines and integrity, to state that, in my opinion, Senator Chamberlain received the votes of several thousand Republican enemies of the law, who believed that in selecting Governor Chamberlain, a Democrat, they would prevent a Republican legislature from ratifying the people's selection, obeying the people's instructions, and electing as United States Senator the individual regardless of party, that the people might select for that office. Thus they hoped to make the primary law and Statement No. 1 odious, and sought to create what they thought would be an impossible condition by forcing upon a Republican legislature for confirmation the popularly designated Democratic candidate for the United States Senate. They failed to realize that, greater than party and infinitely greater than any individual, the people's choice becomes a representative of the principle and of the law; that the intelligence and integrity of the whole electorate of the State as well as the integrity and loyalty of the members of the legislature were at stake, and from any honorable view point the mere intimation of the possibility of the legislature, but an insult to the legislature failing conscientiously to fulfill his pledge or loyally obey the instructions of the people would not only be an insult to the individual members of the egislature, but an insult to the intelligence, independence, and patriotism of the Oregon electorate that they would permit such action to go unnoticed or without holding the culprit to a rigid responsibility for his treason.

No Oath More Sacred.

Let us again consider the wording of this Statement No. 1 pledge, taken by 51 members of the Oregon legislature:

Statement No. 1.

I further state to the people of Oregon, as well as to the people of my legislative district, that during my term of office I will always vote for that candidate for United States Senator in Congress who has received the highest number of the people's votes for that position at the general election next preceding the election of a Senator in Congress, without regard to my individual preference.

No oath could be more sacred in honor, no contract more binding, no mutual

consideration more definite, than is contained in this Statement No. 1 pledge, and parties to a contract could be of more consequence to government and society than the electorate upon the one side and its servants upon the other.

Under the United States Constitution there can be no penalty attached to the law. The legislator breaking his sacred pledge can not be imprisoned or fined, hence he is doubly bound by honor to redeem his voluntary obligations. Failure to do so would not only brand him as the destroyer of a sacred trust, but a sthe most contemptible of cowards because legally immune from punishment for his perfidy.

Yet, Mr. President, there were efforts made to dishonor our State and our public servants. During the session of the legislature a former government official, an assistant to the chairman of the Republican National Committee, appeared in Oregon and, I am informed promised federal appointments to legislative members if they would disregard their Statement No. 1 pledges to the electorate. The effort was made by the enemies of the law to create the impression that by reason of this person's relations with the chairman of the Republican National Committee during the national campaign he would be able to deliver these promised federal appointments in case Statement No. 1 subscribers sold their honor and betrayed their trust.

I mention these facts to show that the greatest possible strain was placed upon our law, and to the credit of the 51 subscribers of Statement No. 1 in that legislature be it said that every one of those subscribers voted in accordance with his solemn obligation. But I would call the attention of the Senate to the fact that notwithstanding the people of the State had passed under the initiative the bill I have referred to instructing all the members of the legislature to vote for the people's choice for United States Senator, not a single member of the legislature obeyed said instructions except the Statement No. 1 subscribers.

An Evolution of Practical Politics.

Mr. President, Statement No. 1 was an evolution of many years' experience with practical and commercial politics. We doubtless all have found in individual cases that men's memories, pledges, and agreements were a negligible quantity, but I think we in Oregon have demonstrated that our direct primary law contains a pledge that will hold any sane man regardless of his cupidity, ambition, cowardice, or temerity.

Other Provisions of Primary Law.

Resuming consideration of the direct primary: The returns from a primary election are canvassed in the same manner as the returns from a general election, and the candidate receiving the highest vote for each office is declared the nominee of his party. Candidates of parties other than those polling 25 per cent of the total vote of the State may be nominated without participating in the direct primary, but by means of petition or mass meeting. No candidate nominated otherwise than in the direct primary can use either the word "Republican" or "Democrat" in any form; that is, the nominees of the direct primary are entitled to the party designation in the general election, and no opposition candidate can designate himself as an "Independent Republican" or "Progressive Republican" or "Democrat." These provisions secure to the nominees of the direct primary the exclusive right to their party designation on the ballot in the general election. Each candidate in the direct primary is entitled to have placed in his petition for nomination a statement containing not to exceed 100 words, and on the ballot in the primary and general election a legend of not more than 12 words specifying any measures or principles he especially advocates.

In my opinion the direct primary is the only practicable method of fully securing to the people their right to choose their public servants.

Convention Nominee Under Obligation to a Boss.

Under the convention system the members of a party delegate their power of selection of candidates to the members of a convention. To my mind this system is most pernicious, because the party electorate feels that its responsibility ceases with the selection of its convention delegates. Hence the responsibility of citizenship is weakened and shiftlessness encouraged.

As soon as the delegates to the convention are chosen, the power of selection of public servants becomes centralized in a few and opportuntiy is extended to individuals and interests who wish to use public servants for selfish or ulterior purposes. Influences adverse to the general welfare are immediately brought to bear upon this body of delegates. Factions are created, combinations effected, and party disruption frequently results. Often a convention nominates a man for public office who, prior to the convention, was never seriously considered as a probable nominee.

In my thirty years' experience in politics quite frequently have I seen this the case. This strengthens my conviction that the prevailing system of convention selections of party candidates

is not representative, but misrepresentative, form of government. The people certainly have no voice in the selection of candidates when their temporary representatives had no idea of making a selection until occurences transpiring during the convention determine their action.

Let us look at the system in vogue in the selection of delegates. In most cases where convention nominations are made we can trace back to the political boss and machine the preparation of a slate of delegates. In the selection of the individuals comprising the slate the political boss has in mind the perpetuation of his own power, and selects individuals whose interests are identical with his or whom he thinks he can direct and control, though occasionally, if anticipating a struggle, he will select a few men whose standing in the community will bring strength to the slate he has prepared in order to carry out his purposes. Independent men are selected only where it is deemed necessary by the political boss to deceive the public and secure sufficient support from the personal influence of those few selections to carry through the slate made up chiefly of his willing tools. This system prevails not only in selection of delegates to county conventions, but in selection of delegates to congressional, state and national conventions as well. The result is inevitable that the delegates nominate candidates whom the machine and political bosses desire, except in rare cases where a few independent men are able, by presentation of arguments against the qualifications of a machine candidate, to demonstrate to the convention the probability of the defeat of the men slated for the position. Frequently, of course, a case is presented where the boss has made promises to various aspirants for the same office, in which case he excuses himself to the disappointed aspirant by explaining that he was unable to control the convention. Thus mendacity and treachery are fostered by the convention system which by the primary system are absolutely eliminated.

Under the convention system the nominee realizes that his nomination is due chiefly, if not entirely, to the boss. With this knowledge naturally goes a feeling of obligation, so that the nominee, when elected, is desirous, whenever possible, of according to the wishes of the man to whom his nomination is due. Thus the efficiency and independence of the public servant is seriously affected and his duty to the public in many cases completely annihilated.

Nominee of Direct Primary Responsible to People Alone.

How different in its operation is the direct primary. The man who seeks a nomination under the direct primary system must present before the members of his party the policies and principles by which he will be governed if nominated and elected. He must submit to them his past record in public and private life. Promises made to political bosses or machine managers will have no beneficial influence in determining the result, and therefore the candidate is not tempted to place himself under obligations to any interests adverse to those of the general public. The members of a party have it within their power to determine which of the candidates best represents their ideas and wishes. After they have made their selections the candidates of opposing parties must stand before the people at the general election, when a choice will be made between them. A public servant thus chosen owes his election to no faction, machine, or boss, but to the members of his party and the electorate of the State or district. He is accountable to them alone for his conduct in office, and has, therefore, every incentive to render the best possible public service. How different in all essentials from the position of the candidate who has received his nomination at the hands of a convention controlled by a political machine.

The great masses of the people are not only intelligent, but honest. They have no selfish interests to serve and ask nothing of their public officials but faithful and efficient service. Only the very few have interests adverse to those of the general welfare. The people therefore act only for public good when they choose between candidates for the nomination or candidates for election.

The direct primary encourages the people of the country to study public questions and to observe and pass judgment upon the acts of their public citizenship.

Honest selections mean honest government and better public servants.

Public servants who lack confidence in the intelligence or honesty of the people will find their feelings reciprocated.

Primary Laws Protect Parties.

Many claim that primary laws destroy party. In my opinion, they protect and cement parties. Party success depends, under primary laws, upon the ideas and principles advocated and the nominations made by the parties in their primaries. If a majority party fails to make proper nominations, or if the minority party has better material in its electorate, then a minority party would

rapidly develop into a majority party, and rightly so. Under a direct primary law no individual can acquire a large personal following or build up a personal organization, except such a following as would support the individual on account of the principles advocated by him or the demonstration made by him as a public servant. But no man would be able to transfer such a following for or against another individual, though he might influence thousands of hundred of thousands of voters to support his ideas, constructive suggestions, or proposed solution of pending problems. This does not destroy party, but elevates and and strengthens it, and fortunate, indeed, is that party which possesses in its electorate one or more individuals who are able to advance new ideas or evolve solutions which appeal to the sound judgment of his fellow-men.

Popular Selection of President and Vice-President.

For years the desirability of popular selection of candidates for President and Vice-President has grown upon my mind. By adoption of such a plan, Presidents would be relieved of prenomination or preelection obligations, except the obligation of good service to all the people. Thus accountability to the people alone would be established and aspirants for the Presidency would be free from the necessity of consulting the wishes of men who make and manipulate conventions. To render good public service would be the sole desire, for reelection would depend upon demonstration of capability and fitness for offices. Because of this conviction I have arranged to submit, under the initiative, to the people of Oregon at the next general election a bill further enlarging the scope of our present primary law. It provides for the direct primary election of delegates to national conventions, selections of presidential electors, and gives the opportunity to the elector in his party primary to express his preference for President and Vice-President.

I am confident that the people of Oregon will enact this law, and I hope that other States will follow her example, in which event, through the crystalization of public opinion, a method of popular selection of Presidents and Vice-Presidents would be secured without violation of the Federal Constitution.

Not a Revolutionary Change.

The declaration by each State of its choice for President would be in no sense a wider departure from the Constitution than was the transformation of the electoral college into a mere registering or recording board, yet no one now thinks such change in anywise revolutionary. The theory of the Constitution was that each State should choose a body of electors who should have choice—election—as to those for whom they should vote for President and Vice-President. This theory we find expressed in all the expository letters and pamphlets written by those who drafted the Constitution. The electors were to be free men, bound to no candidate, nor to any party. They were to meet and survey the whole country, choosing therefrom according to their own unhampered and wisest judgment the man best fitted to be the head of the Nation. This was the law in 1789, and it is the law today. Theoretically and legally the electoral college which cast its perfunctory vote for Mr. Taft and Mr. Sherman might have elected Mr. Bryan and Mr. Kernes. Had this been done, all the vast power of the Supreme Court could not have set the election aside or compelled a true registration of the popular decision as expressed at the polls. The Constitution of the United States was changed a hundred years ago by force of mere popular acceptation and general usage, so that its machinery today is used to effect an end which it does not in its letter express —and did not in its conception anticipate. We have made the constitutional machinery suit our idea of the way this Government should be conducted.

We have said that it was better that we should by means of political parties choose candidates and by moral force bind the electors whom we nominate to vote for such candidates than that we should leave the electors we might choose free to do as they saw fit. We have converted the elector into an agent —a messenger if you will—whose honorable duty it is to cast a ballot for one who may not be his personal choice for President or whom, indeed, he may regard as unfitted for the position of President. The constitutional theory has been abandoned and one more democratic has been substituted. We evolved a presidential election plan which, while departing from the philosphy of the makers of our national organic law, preserved its letter and made it subserve the purpose of a society more highly developed than that existent when the law was made. This is the history of of all written law. There is nothing startling in the proposal that the Constitution or any other law shall be so interpreted as to meet modern needs and thought. We move toward democracy when we abolished the elector as an elector and left him but a figurehead, and it will be a much less radical move to give instructions by popular vote to the delegate who names the party can-

didate. Indeed, it would appear that to follow the latter course would be to do no more than institute a procedure complementary to the former.

Corrupt Practices Act.

The next step in popular government in Oregon after the adoption of the direct primary law was the adoption of a corrupt practices act, which the legislature had refused to enact, but which the people of the State adopted under the initiative.

The corrupt practices act was adopted under the initiative in 1908 by popular vote of 54,042 to 31,301. It provides that no candidate for office shall expend in his campaign for nomination more than 15 per cent of one year's compensation of the office for which he is a candidate, provided that no candidate shall be restricted to less than $100.

Publicity Pamphlet.

The act provides, however, for the publication of a pamphlet by the secretary of state for the information of voters, in which pamphlet a candidate in the primary campaign may have published a statement setting forth his qualifications, the principles and policies he advocates and favors, or any other matter he may wish to submit in support of his candidacy. Each candidate must pay for at least one page, the amount to be paid varying from $100 for the highest office to $10 for the minor offices. Every candidate may secure the use of additional pages at $100 per page, not exceeding three additional pages. Any person may use space in this pamphlet in opposition to any candidate, the matter submitted by him being first served upon the candidate and the space being paid for the same as in the case of candidates. The matter submitted in opposition to candidates must be signed by the author, who is subject to the general laws regarding slander and libel. Information regarding state and congressional candidates is printed in a pamphlet issued by the secretary of state, one copy being mailed to each registered voter i nthe State. Pamphlets regarding county candidates are issued by the county clerk and mailed to each voter in the county. These pamphlets must be mailed at least eight days before the primary election. The amount of money paid for space in the public pamphlet of information is not considered in determining the amount each candidate has expended in his campaign; that is, he is entitled to expend in his primary campaign 15 per sent of one year's compensation in addition to what he pays for space in the public pamphlet.

Prior to the general election the executive committee or managing officers of any political party or organization may file with the secretary of state portrait cuts of its candidates and typewritten statements and arguments for the success of its principles and the election of its candidates and opposing or attacking the principles and candidates of all other parties. This same privilege applies to independent candidates. These statements and arguments are printed in a tenth day before the general election.

Each party is limited to 24 pages, and each independent candidate to 2 pages, each page in this pamphlet being charged for at the rate of $50 per page. In the campaign preceding the general election each candidate is limited in campaign expenditures to 10 per cent of one year's compensation.

For the purposes of this act the contribution, expenditure, or liability of a descendant, ascendant, brother, sister, uncle, aunt, nephew, niece, wife, partner, employer, employee, or fellow-official or fellow-employee of a corporation is deemed to be that of the candidate himself. Any person not a candidate spending more than $50 in a campaign must file an itemized account of his expenditures in the office of the secretary of state or the county clerk and give a copy of the account to the candidate for whom or against whom the money was spent.

Legitimate Use of Money Within Limit.

While the corrupt practices act limits the candidate to the expenditure of 15 per cent of one year's salary in his primary campaign and 10 per cent of a year's salary in the general campaign, in addition to what he pays for space in the publicity pamphlet, yet the law does not prohibit any legitimate use of money within this limitation. The act makes it possible for a man of moderate means to be a candidate upon an equality with a man of wealth.

Let us take a concrete example as a means of illustrating the operation of Oregon's corrupt practices act. The salary of the governor is $5,000 a year. A candidate for the nomination for governor may take a maximum of 4 pages in the publicity pamphlet, and thus, at a cost of $400, be able to reach every registered voter of his party in the entire State. In addition to that $400 he may spend $750, or 15 per cent of one year's salary, in any other manner he may choose, not in violation of the corrupt practices act. A candidate may purchase space in the advertising columns of a newspaper, but in order that this paid advertising shall not be mistaken for news the law requires that all paid articles be marked as such.

The law expressly provides that none of its provisions shall be construed as re-

lating to the rendering of services by speakers, writers, publishers, or others for which no compensation is asked or given, nor to prohibit expenditures by committees of political parties or organizations for public speakers, music, halls, lights, literature, advertising, office rent, printing, postage, clerk hire, challengers or watchers at the polls, traveling expenses, telegraphing or telephoning, or the making of poll lists.

The successful nominee in the primary may spend in his general campaign 10 per cent of one year's salary, this expenditure, in the case of a candidate for governor, being $500. In addition to this 10 per cent of a year's salary he may contribute toward the payment of his party's statement in the publicity pamphlet to be mailed by the secretary of state to eevry registered voter. In the publicity pamphlet for the general campaign each party may use not to exceed 24 pages, at $50 per page, making the total cost to the party committee $1,200, or about $100 for each candidate.

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The candidate is therefore limited to an expenditure of $600 in his general campaign, only $100 of which is necessary in order to enable him to reach every registered voter. He could reach every registered voter in his party in the primary campaign for $400. Under no other system could a candidate reach all the voters in two campaigns at a total cost of $500.

Improper Acts Prohibited.

The Oregon corrupt practices act encourages and aids publicity, but prohibits the excessive or improper use of money or other agencies for the subversion of clean elections. Among the acts which are prohibited I may mention these:

Promises of appointments in return for political support.

Solicitation or acceptance of campaign contributions from or payment of contributions by persons holding appointive positions.

Publication or distribution of anonymous letters or circulars regarding candidates or measures before the people.

Sale of editorial support or the publication of paid political advertising without marking it "Paid advertising."

Use of carriages in conveying voters to the polls.

Active electioneering or soliciting votes on election day.

Campaign contributions by quasi public or certain other important classes of corporations generally affected by legislation.

Intimidation or coercion of voters in any manner.

Soliciting candidates to subscribe to religious, charitable, public, and semi-public enterprises; but this does not prohibit regular payments to any organization of which the candidate has been a member, or to which he has been a contributor for more than six months before his candidacy.

Contribution of funds in the name of any other than the person furnishing the money.

Treating by candidates as a means of winning favor.

Payment or promise to reward another for the purpose of inducing him to become or refrain from becoming or cease being a candidate, or solicitation of such consideration.

Betting on an election by a candidate, or betting on an election by any other person with intent to influence the result.

Attempting to vote in the name of another person, living, dead, or fictitious.

Publicity of Campaign Expenditures.

There is no interference with such legitimate acts as tend to secure full publicity and free expression of opinion. Personal and political liberty is in no way infringed upon, the only purpose being to prohibit the excessive use of money, promises of appointment, or deception and fraud.

The corrupt practices act requires that every candidate shall file an itemized statement of his campaign expenditures within fifteen days after the primary eleconly all amounts expended, but all debts incurred or unfulfilled promises made.

Every political committee must have a treasurer, and cause him to keep a detailed account of its receipts, payments, and liabilities. Any committee or agent or representative of a candidate must file an itemized statement of receipts and expenditures within ten days after the election. The books of account of any treasurer of any political party, committee, or organization during an election campaign shall be open at all reasonable office hours to the inspection of the treasurer and chairman of any opposing political party or organization for the same electoral district. Failure to file statements as required by law is punishable by fine.

The candidate violating any section of the corrupt practices act forfeits his right to the office. Any other person violating any section of this act is punished by imprisonment of not more than one year in the county jail or a fine of not more than $5,000, or both. The candidate is also subject to the same penalties.

The Recall.

The final step in the establishment of popular government in Oregon was the adoption of the recall amendment to the constitution, which was adopted in 1908 by a vote of 58,381 to 31,002. Under this

amendment any public officer may be recalled by the filing of a petition signed by 25 per cent of the number of electors who voted in his district in the preceding election. The petition must set forth the reasons for the recall, and if the officer does not resign within five days after the petition is filed a special election must be ordered to be held within twenty days to determine whether the people will recall such officer. On the ballot at such election the reasons for demanding the recall of said officer may be set forth in not more than 200 words. His justification of his course in office may be set forth in a like number of words. He retains his office until the results of the special election have been officially declared.

No petition can be circulated against any officer until he has held office six months, except that in the case of a member of the state legislature it may be filed at any time after five days from the beginning of the first session after his election. At the special election the candidate receiving the highest number of votes is declared elected. The special election is held at public expense, but a second recall petition can not be filed against an officer unless the petitioners [illegible] pay the entire expense of the first recall election.

Mr. President, I reiterate that Oregon has evolved the best system of popular government that exists in the world today.

The Australian ballot assures the honesty of elections.

The registration law guards the integrity of the privilege of American citizenship—participation in government.

The direct primary absolutely insures popular selection of all candidates and establishes the responsibility of the public servant to the electorate and not to any political boss or special interest.

The initiative and referendum is the keystone of the arch of popular government, for by means of this the people may accomplish such other reforms as they desire. The initiative develops the electorate because it encourages study of principles and policies of government, and affords the originator of new ideas in government an opportunity to secure popular judgment upon his measures if 8 per cent of the voters of his State deem the same worthy of submission to popular vote. The referendum prevents misuse of the power temporarily centralized in the legislature.

The corrupt-practices act is necessary as a complement to the initiative and referendum and the direct primary, for, without the corrupt-practices act, these other features of popular government could be abused. As I have fully explained, the publicity pamphlet provided for by the corrupt-practices act affords the voter their views upon public questions, and protects the honest candidate against the misuse of money in political campaign. Under the operation of this law popular verdicts will be based upon ideas, not money; argument, not abuse; principles, not boss or machine dictation.

The recall, to my mind, is rather an admonitory or precautionary measure, the existence of which will prevent the necessity for its use. At rare intervals there may be occasion for exercises of the recall against municipal or county officers, but I believe the fact of its existence will prevent need for its use against the higher officials. It is, however, an essential feature of a complete system of popular government.

Absolute Government by the People.

Under the machine and political-boss system the confidence of sincere partisans is often betrayed by recreat leaders in political contests and by public servants who recognize the irresponsible machine instead of the electorate as the source of power to which they are responsible. If the enforcement of the Oregon laws will right these wrongs, then they were conceived in wisdom and born in justice to the people, in justice to the public servant, and in justice to the partisan.

Plainly stated, the aim and purpose of the laws is to destroy the irresponsible political machine and to put all elective offices in the State in direct touch with the people as the real source of authority; in short, to give direct and full force to the ballot of very individual elector in Oregon and to eliminate dominance of corporate and corrupt influences in the administration of public affairs. The corporate power can be dethroned, the people restored to power, and lasting reform secured. They insure absolute government by the people.

SAMUEL GOMPERS.

Organized labor and the Buck's Stove and Range Company have come to an honorable agreement and propose to do everything within their power to work for their mutual advantage and interests. Labor is confident of the good faith of the company under its new management and feels that time will justify that confidence. On the other hand, labor will justify in every way the confidence placed in our movement and our men. Let us all show by every means within our power that the company will receive the patronage and encouragement of labor, its friends and sympathizers. Let labor demonstrate the real value of agreement of employers with organized labor.

THE HISTORY OF THE LABEL

By ERNEST R. SPEDDER, Ph D., in John Hopkins Journal

CHAPTER I.

The union label is in origin distinctively a device of American trade unionism. Attemps have been made to find in the "hall marks" of the mediaeval guilds prototypes of the labels of the trade unions of the present day; but the analogy appears to be one of fancy rather than of fact.

The history of the label falls into three periods which may be distinguished as follows: (a) the introduction of the label among the cigar makers; (b) the adoption of labels by other trade unions, largely through the influence of the Knights of Labor, as a means of combating particular forms of competition to which the members of these unions were subject; (c) the widespread use of labels as a matter of general union policy.

(a) The introduction of the label in the cigar making industry was the direct result of competition between Chinese workmen and the "white" cigar makers of San Francisco. The Chinese immigrants who came to this country in increasing numbers after the ratification of the Burlingame Treaty in 1868 found employment in laundries, boot and shoe factories, cigar factories, slipper factories, shirt factories, wool and clothing factories, and in domestic service. The cigar industry was, however, particularly open to the influx of such labor on account of the ease with which the trade of the cigar maker may be acquired. In 1876 a San Francisco cigar maker in his testimony before the Joint Special Committee of Congress to investigate Chinese Immigration estimated the number of Chinese cigar makers in San Francisco at over 6000 and the number of white cigar makers at 150. The Chinese laborers in the cigar industry earned on the average about six dollars a week, while the whites earned twice as much. The higher wages of the whites was due partly to their greater speed and partly to the fact that they were able to secure a higher piece rate.

The white cigar makers felt keenly the competition of the Chinese, and in 1875 a local union of white cigar makers, not affiliated with the Cigar Makers' International Union and known as the Cigar Makers' Association of the Pacific Coast, was organized. The membership of the association consisted at first of ten cigar makers, one-half of whom were out of work. Immediately after its formation the association incorporated under the laws of California, and adopted a stamp which was registered as the trade mark of the association. The stamp was made of white paper and was pasted on the box containing the cigars. It had on it the following legend: "CIGAR MAKERS' ASSOC'N. The cigars contained in this box are made by WHITE MEN. This label is issued by authority of the Cigar Makers' Association of the Pacific Coast and adopted by law." The stamps were issued only to those manufacturers who employed exclusively white cigar makers. Only one workman, however, in each shop need be a member of the association.

The following extract from the testimony of Frank Muther, an officer of the association, before the Congressional Committee of 1876-1877 outlines the method of administering the stamp.

"Q. How can you tell what number of cigars men make in a particular shop? A. I will have to explain our society. I am pretty well posted in our constitution. We will suppose that one of these gentlemen keeps a cigar-shop; he has white labor to work. If he wants to obtain this stamp it is necessary for him to have one man belonging to the society in his shop; all the rest may be foreign to us; and then that man will put down every Saturday every cigar each man made, Muther, Harris, Connor, each man so many. This man is bound to report at our headquarters, 107 Geary street, every Saturday night, or between Saturday and Monday, and make regular papers. We have regular headquarters there, regular officers, a safe, and a regular book where everything is entered. If this man should call for stamps, the stamp committee opens the book to find out how many he is entitled to, for they know how many he has manufactured and they cannot fool us on the number of boxes. They cannot put a stamp for one hundred cigars on boxes of twenty-five, as it reads plainly there are 100 cigars in this box, or 50 or 25 cigars in this box, as the case may be."

The stamp appears to have for a time considerable influence in diverting trade from the Chinese to the white shops. The anti-Chinese feeling was strong and the association availed itself fully of this aid. By 1878 fifty manufacturers were using the "union label," though only three or four of these conducted large shops. Under date of March 2, 1878, a committee of the association wrote to the Cigar Makers' Journal, the organ of the International Union, that they could find employment for sixty men in San Francisco. They said:

"There are now a dozen jobs to be had as against one which was to be had last year. There is an organized movement on foot to drive the Chinese out of the country. They are being replaced by white men as fast as such can be procured." Under date of September 29 of the same year the corresponding secretary of the association wrote: "I only wish that some 200 or 300 cigarmakers would come here from the East. We must devise some plan for getting men from the East in order to stop the cry of those manufacturers, who say it is impossible for them to get white men." The campaign of the association was warmly aided by Denis Kearney and the other leaders of the Sand Lot agitation. Great stress was laid on the crowded and unsanitary conditions of the Chinese shops as affecting the desirability of goods made in such shops.

The officers of the association did not, however, yield permanent results in controlling custom for the white cigar makers of San Francisco. Cigars were imported from the East to supply the demand for cigars made by white labor. As the outcry against the Chinese lessened, the efficiency of the label in controlling custom decreased. In 1881 the Trades' Assembly of San Francisco estimated the number of white cigar makers in San Francisco at 179 and the number of Chinese workmen at 8500. The San Francisco union, however, continued the use of the "white label" until 1884, when it was replaced by the label of the International Union.

In 1879 the St. Louis cigar makers' union adopted a label. Cigar makers' organizations had existed in St. Louis, with intermissions, from 1858; but in 1863 the first organization on strictly trade-union lines was formed. It was affiliated as a local union with the Cigar Makers' International Union of America, and proposed for some time, but owing to internal dissensions and the attacks from opponents of organized labor it was dissolved in the spring of 1877. On December 4, 1877, a few of the former members organized a new local union and received a charter from the Cigar Makers' International Union of America. After a short period of prosperity it became weak almost to the point of disorganization, and in August, 1879, was reorganized with less than twenty-five members. A rally of the cigar makers of St. Louis was held, a new bill of prices was formulated and presented to every shop. Strikes were declared in those shops which refused to pay the union rates. The manufacturers declared that rather than pay the prices demanded they would buy their cigars from factories in other cities.

In this emergency the president of the union conceived the idea of adopting a label in order to stimulate the demand for cigars made by St. Louis labor. The union approved the suggestion, and a label was designed and registered as a tradesmark in the name of the president. The description of the label as given in the application for registration was as follows: '44 Union Cigar Makers' Label 44. St. Louis, Mo. F. von der Fehr; in the centre of said label is a ring in which are the words, Cigar Makers' Union, No. 44, St. Louis, Mo. and two leaves representing tobacco, also two hands uniting." The label was red, and was printed on glazed paper as a protection against removal by wetting.

The corresponding secretary of the St. Louis union in a communication to the Cigar Makers' Journal under date of September 26, 1879, said: "This union has issued a union label, to be affixed to each box of cigars by those manufacturers only who are paying the prices demanded. We have also issued a printed address to the public requesting them to refrain from buying any cigars other than those which bear the union label, indicating that the man who made those cigars is getting the union price for his labor. Some of the manufacturers are crying for our label, being unable to sell their cigars without the union label. We refuse to issue labels to some of our manufacturers, inasmuch as they fail to comply with our demands." In the address to the public issued by the union, after a narration of the causes of the strike, the following passage occurs: "For the better protection of ourselves and those employers who have acceded to our demands we have, under the cover of law, issued the Union Label and be it further understood that this label is only issued to those who are paying to us our just demands. This label is placed in a conspicuous place on part of the box so that all can see it; and we would further ask that the public would patronize those who use this label, as it is a sure indication that the public is with us. This label is not to be used on either tenement house or penitentiary goods." The introduction of the label enabled the union to win the strike and to unionize the shops. The St. Louis union continued to use the local red label until 1889.

The adoption of local labels by the cigar makers of San Francisco and St. Louis attracted the attention of union cigar makers in other cities, and at the session of the Cigar Makers' International Union of America, held in Chicago September 21-24, 1880, Frederick Blend of Evansville, Indiana, first vice-

president of the International union, introduced "some resolutions in regard to issuing trade marks or union labels suitable to be placed on the box in a conspicuous place." The resolutions were adopted and became a part of the constitution of the national organization. At this time the International union was engaged in a struggle in New York City against the manufacture of cigars in tenement houses. The union was also endeavoring to prevent the manufacture of cigars in prison. It seems clear that the idea animating the convention was that the label which had so recently proved effective in St. Louis might serve as a weapon in this warfare. The resovided that it should certify on its face vided tha tit should certify on its face that the cigars contained in the box on which it was placed "had been made by a first class workman, a member of the Cigar Makers' International Union of America, an organization opposed to inferior rat shop, coolie, prison, or filthy tenement-house workmanship." In a letter published in the Journal for October, 1880, Mr. Blend said: "Another important work of the late convention I would especially call your attention to, that is the adopting of the union label for union made cigars. If adopted and carefully managed in accordance with the intent of the law, it will prove a valuable protection and safeguard for honest labor, it will to a large extent prevent impositions upon the public and be a positive Detective to help separate and weed out filth inferior tenement-house, Prison, Chinese and rat shop workmanship at present imposed upon the public in all sections of the country as being the production of skilled mechanics."

The first labels appear to have been sent to local unions about January 15, 1881. The financial accounts of the union for December, 1880, contain the following item: "Commissioner of Patents, $7," a payment made in all probability for the registration of the label. The same accounts in January show expenditures for "photoengraving 36 electrotpyes and printing of 103 thousand union labels, $66.60," "copyrighting of label in Canada, $4.00," "postage of union labels, $8.25."

The labels were received by some of the local unions with enthusiasm. The local union at Jacksonville, Ill., wrote on February 4, 1881, that every cigar manufacturer in that city was using the label. The Terre Haute union found after two weeks' use of the label that its membership had increased, and it was "sanguine in the hope that we shall soon have nearly every cigar maker in the city in our union." On April 3 the Detroit union reported that it had almost doubled its membership "by means of the union label." In May, Mr. Strasser, International president, issued through the Journal an "Appeal to the Trade and Labor Unions of the United States and Canada." The greater part of the appeal consisted of a description of the dangers of tenement-house and coolie labor both to the laboring class and to the consumers of their products. A facsimile of the label was reproduced. At the annual session of the union in September, 1881, President Strasser announced that he had issued one and a half million labels, and believed that "if the trades unions of America were but half as numerous as those of Great Britian, the label could be made a power not to be resisted.

(b) The second period in the history of the union label movement in the United States was characterized by the adoption of labels by certain trade unions, notably the Hatters and Can Makers, as means of combating specific forms of competition, threatened or actual, to which the particular organization was exposed. Roughly speaking, we may say that from 1880 to 1890 the trade-union label was regarded primarily, not as a means of appeal to unionists to support other unions, but as a means of appeal to the public against conditions which were generally discountenanced —tenement-houses, sweat-shop, and prison labor.

The Hatters had been facing the problem of immigrant competition since 1899. Slaves and Poles were being introduced into the New England hat factories to work in teams at wages below what the American hat makers were receiving. In 1885 the Hat Finishers' Association and the Hat Makers' Association, after a strike at Norwalk, Connecticut, adopted a joint label called "The Label of the United Hatters of North America." From 1885 to 1898 the two organizations remained distinct, and during this period of eleven years "The Label of The United Hatters of North America" was a prime weapon of defense against the encroachment of immigrant labor.

The wider use of the label was much promoted during this period by the solidarity given to the labor movement by the Knights of Labor. A prime doctrine of that organization was that the power exercised by the laborers as consumers, if they could be united, was far greater than as employees. The Knights had from the outset exalted the boycott above the strike as a weapon. They were therefore quick to see the possibilities which lay in the label. In February, 1884, the general executive board adopted an "official label of the Order for use upon goods manufactured or sold by members." The legend on the label declared that the goods upon which

it was placed had not been manufactured by "convict, contract or other slave labor." The administration of this label was extremely loose, and it is impossible to determine what assemblies used it. It is certain that almost immediately certain assemblies of cigar makers, profiting by the publicity which the Cigar Makers' International Union had given their blue label, began to use the white label of the Knights.

In 1885 Can Makers Assembly, 1384, of Baltimore, Maryland, identical with Can Makers' Mutual Protective Association, probably because the "white label" of the Knights was not a suitable form of label for marking cans, adopted the following mark—"C.M.M.P.A., hand-made —" to be stamped on the bottom of each can. Machinery was being introduced at that time in the can-making trade, and the can makers conceived the idea of appealing to consumers to purchase hand-made cans. It was maintained that the use of machine-made cans caused injury to the health of the consumers of canned goods, displaced skilled can makers, and was responsible for the employment of women and children under unsanitary conditions. This label was endorsed by the general executive board of the Knights of Labor, and circulars were issued to the assemblies in its behalf.

From time to time the general executive board granted permission to various other local assemblies to use distinctive labels, although ordinarily it insisted on the use of the "white label." The cigar makers, the boot and shoe workers, the knit goods workers, the file makers, the pearl button makers, the pearl workers, cigar box makers, bakers, trunk makers, glove workers, umbrella workers, and leather workers were allowed to have special devices.

The only national trade unions besides the Hatters and Cigar Makers to adopt a label before 1890 were the Germania Typographia (1885), Typographical Union (1886), Garment Workers (1886), Coopers (1886), Boot and Shoe Workers (1887), Bakers (1886), Molders (1887), Tailors (1886). In none of these unions, however, was the label important until after 1890. In several cases labels were adopted but so little employed as to be later replaced by entirely new ones.

The final breach between the national unions and the Knights of Labor was largely due to a controversy between the Cigar Makers and the Knights of Labor with regard to the use of the label. The assemblies of cigar makers, as has been noted, were the first of the Knights actively to use the "white label.' Early in 1886 the Cigar Makers International Union protested to the officers of the Knights of Labor that assemblies of cigar makers had given "white labels" to manufacturers in whose shops union cigar makers were on strike. The relations between the two organizations became so strained that the general assembly of the Knights in 1886 required all cigar makers who were members of the Knights of Labor to withdraw from the Cigar Makers' Union. The issue of this edict by the executive board marked the beginning of the downfall of the Knights.

(c) The third period in the history of the label began about 1890, and is characterized by the use of the label as a general device of trade unionism. Hitherto the use of the label had been confined to a small number of unions, practically all of whom had some appeal to popular sympathy. The wide use of the label after 1890 was due to a change in view with regard to the possibility of rousing a popular demand for the label. As has been noted above the unions which first adopted labels hoped to secure the custom of the public at large. But they soon found that the only effective appeal was to follow unionists. Mr. J. G. Brooks, writing in 1898 of the union label, lays much stress on the possibility of the unions' winning public sympathy. He says, for example, "In trades like that of the garment workers, a label that should be confidently known to stand for definite improvement in the life of the worker would attract a powerful public sympathy," and he complains that the rules under which the union labels were issued gave ordinarily no guarantee of good quality of work or of sanitary conditions. By the time of Mr. Brooks's article, however, the unoins had almost entirely abandoned the plan of cultivating demand for label goods. With the abandonment of the idea of the general appeal the way was opened for the wider use of the label. It was not necessary for a union to make out a case to attract custom. It could count as confidently on union support if its members were well paid as if they were poorly paid. In one form or another the use of the label spread from union to union almost without regard to whether it might be effectively used. The label has come to be considered almost as necessary a piece of equipment for a national union as an official seal. In each five-year period from 1890 to 1905 some fifteen national unions adopted labels.

The following list shows the date at which the label was introduced by the different unions:

1890 to 1895.

Retail Clerks 1891, Brewery Workmen

1892, 1895, Broom and Whisk Makers 1893, Barbers 1891, 1896, Carriage and Wagon Workers 1895, Horseshoers 1895, 1898, Sheet Metal Workers 1895, Shirt Waist and Laundry Workers 1895, 1901, Teamsters 1895, Tobasso Workers 1895, Travellers Goods and Leather Novelty Workers 1895, Flour and Cereal Mill Employees 1895, 1902.

1896 to 1900.

Brick, Tile and Terra Cotta Workers 1896, Hotel and Restaurant Employees 1896, 1899, Wood Workers 1896, Leather Workers on Horse Goods 1898, Musicians 1897, Machinists 1897, 1905, Metal Polishers and Buffers 1897, Brush Makers 1897, Elastic Goring Weavers 1897, Boilermakers 1898, 1901, Meat Cutters and Cutters and Butcher Workmen 1898, Piano and Organ Workers 1898, Stove Mounters 1898, Upholsterers 1898, Blacksmiths 1900, Watch Case Engravers 1900, Wood, Wire and Metal Lathers 1900, Ladies Garment Workers 1900.

1901 to 1905.

Wire Weavers 1901, Actors 1901, Jewelry Workers 1901, Wood Carvers 1901, Steam Engineers 1902, Painters 1902, Pressmen 1902, Cloth Hat and Cap Makers 1902, Steel and Copper Plate Printers 1902, Paper Makers 1902, Glass Workers 1902, Gold Beaters 1902, Theatrical State Employees 1902, Glove Workers 1902, Leather Workers 1902, Machine Printers 1902, Power and High Explosive Workers 1902, Rubber Workers 1902, Textile Workers 1903, Stationary Firemen 1903, Print Cutters 1903, Saw Smiths 1903, Tip Printers 1903, Glass Bottle Blowers 1904, Fur Workers 1905, Paper Box Makers 1905.

1906 to 1908.

Marble Workers 1906, Shingle Weavers 1906, Pocket Knife Blade Grinders and Finishers 1907, Woodsmen and Sawmill Workers 1907, Photo-Engravers 1908, Slate Wokers 1908.

The use of the union label is not confined to national trade adopted a label fo rthe use of those local trade unions not organized into national unions but directly affiliated with the Federation. In 1908 such organizations were the Badge and Lodge Paraphernalia Workers, the Soda and Mineral Water Bottlers, the Coffee, Spice and Baking Powder Workers, the Horseshoe Nail Makers, the Neckware Cutters and Makers, the Button Workers, the Paper Box Makers, and the Suspender Makers.

Labels have been adopted also by several alliances of trades which combine to produce a single product. The Allied Printing Trades Council label was first issued by the Typographical Union in November, 1893. In 1879 the form of the label was changed to meet the objections of the Pressmen to the monogram of the Typographical Union which appeared upon this label. In 1905 at a meeting of the joint conference board the representatives of the "Allied Printing Trades" drafted the rules which now control the use of the label of the "Allied Printing Trades' Council." The National Building Trades' Council in 1903 issued two forms of union labels for buildings. The extent to which these labels have been used has been very limited. From 1897 to 1905 the Metal Mechanics, the Machinists, and the Metal Polishers used a joint label.

In 1908 there were affiliated with the American Federation of Labor 117 national trade unions. Of this number 68 unions were using the label in some one of its forms. The total membership of the label-using unions was 724,200, or approximately 47 per cent of the aggregate membership of the American Federation of Labor, which was 1,586,885.

ONLY A WORKINGMAN.

"Only a workingman" is a common expression used every day by everyone. It carries with it nothing in particular. Among the aristocracy it implies inferiority; it means a man born to toil, and work, and slave for others; to be kept out of good society; to be despised and shunned; to be looked upon with distrust; to be considered a machine to vote, but never to run for office or be elected; in fact, to have no ambitions whatever to hold office of any kind; always to work, work, work long, tiresome, tedious hours at small pay; to be content to have enough to eat and a place to sleep; to be satisfied with his surroundings whether they be bright or gloomy, and under no circumstances to find fault, kick or go on strike. What a beautiful picture!

This "workingman," however, is the son of another "workingman." His race has been in servitude and bondage for ages, but, unlike the serf or slave of old, he is permitted to learn to read and write. He is compelled to learn that much, whether he wants to or not. This, however, is about the extent of his education. He begins his hard life of toil when a boy and keeps it up until he dies. He is always a workingman. He has no bonds, stocks, investments or bank accounts; he owns no factories, forges, mines, mills, workshops or real estate; he has no horses, carriages, or automobiles. His is a life of dull care, working night and day to create wealth for others to spend in boister-

ous, riotous and licentious living. Working early and late in supporting a family, living in huts and hovels unfit accept whatever wages may be offered, this "workingman" has no higher asdenied his just rights, what wonder that for human beings to occupy, forced to pirations or ambitions! What wonder that he feels that he is despised and frowned upon by the very people he keeps in luxury, ease and idleness! What wonder he resents their overtures of friendliness and their promises of fair play! None whatever.

But somebody must work, and therefore there will always be "workingmen." In this age of progress, civilization, education and advancement these "workingmen" are considered the highest types of physical and intellectual manhood. They are not to be despised and will not be pushed aside. They are the sinew and bone of the nation; they are its mainstay and support and should be its pride. A country without "workingmen" is like a farm without stock, a well without water, a man without friends, a home without children, and a heaven without a God.

In the future please give the "workingman" a little more consideration. Without him this world would be a dreary place, a barren waste, a trackless desert.

'He is God's Nobleman.'"

—Frank Duffy in The Carpenter.

THREE GRAVES.

By John Boyle O'Reilly.

How did he live, this dead man here,
With the temple above his grave?
He lived as a great one, from cradle to bier,
He was nursed in luxury, trained in pride,
When the wish was born it was gratified:
Without thank he took, without heed he gave.

The common man was to him a clod,
From whom he was far as a demigod.
His duties? To see that his rents were paid;
His pleasures? To know that the crowd obeyed.
His pulse, if you felt it, throbbed apart,
With a separate stroke from the people's heart.
But whom did he love, and whom did he bless?
Was the life of him more than a man's, or less?
I know not. He died. There was none to blame,
And as few to weep; but these marbles came
For the temple that rose to preserve his name.

How did he live—that other dead man—
From the graves apart and alone?
As a great one, too? Yes, this was one
Who lived to labor and study and plan.
The earth's deep thought he loved to reveal;
He banded the breast of the land with steel;
The thread of his toil he never broke;
He filled the cities with wheels and smoke,
And workers by day and workers by night.
For the day was too short for his vigor's flight,
Too firm was he to be feeling and giving,
For labor for gain was a life worth living.
He worshipped industry, dreamt of her, sighed for her,
Potent he grew by her, famous he died for her.
They say he improved the world in his time,
That his mills and mines were a work sublime.
When he died—laborers rested, and sighed;
Which was it—because he had lived or died?

And how did he live—that dead man there—
In the country churchyard laid?
Oh, he? He came for the sweet field air;
He was tired of the town, and he took no pride
In its fashion or fame; he returned and died
In the place he loved, where a child he played
With those who have knelt by his grave and prayed.
He ruled no serf, and he knew no pride;
He was one with the workers, side by side;
He hated a mill, and mine, and town,
With their fever of misery, struggle, renown;
He could never believe but a man was made
For a nobler end than the glory of trade.

For the youth he mourned with an endless pity,
Who were cast like snow on the streets of the city.
He was weak, maybe; but he lost no friend;
Who loved him once, loved on to the end.
He mourned all selfish and shrewd endeavor;
But he never injured a weak one—never.
When censure was passed he was kindly dumb;
He was never so wise but a fault would come;

He was never so old that he failed to enjoy
The games and the dreams he had loved when a boy.
He erred, and was sorry; but never drew
A trusting heart from the pure and true.
When friends look back from the years to be,
God grant they may say such things of me.

ON THE EIGHT-HOUR DAY.

(In the Senate on Monday, May 23, 1910, Senator Albert J. Beveridge of Indiana delivered a notable address on the eight-hour day—notable because it illustrates the trend of the times, and also because it relates to the iron trade industry, which is on the verge of a revolution in the number of hours that shall constitute a day's work.—Editor.)

In the "Scientific American" for January, 1908, there is a very lengthy and careful editorial on this subject (Eight-hour Work-day). Senators may or may not have seen copies of the article. After examining the whole subject, it says that the cost was 5 per cent more; but it analyzes this additional 5 per cent and explains it away. There are many items of cost when building in a private yard that do not occur when a battleship is built in a government yard, as, for instance, the inspection, and all that sort of thing. I shall not take the time to read this editorial or to have it read, but I shall ask permission to have it printed in the "Record" as a part of my remarks.

(Here follows a long editorial printed in full at the time. It clearly shows that the battleship Connecticut, constructed in a government navy yard under the eight-hour system, was the superior in every way of the Louisiana, despite the long hours worked under private yard management. It is a telling argument for the shorter workday, and convincingly proves that the Connecticut was also a better built vessel, for her repaid bill was much lighter than that of the Louisiana.)

I think that article lays somewhat at rest the fallacy of the tremendous addition to the cost of building a ship in a navy yard under the eight-hour day. The plain truth about it is that when the figures are examined it is found that the difference is not so very great.

In this connection I also ask to have inserted in the "Record" as a portion of my remarks a brief table of experiments made in Germany, showing that under the eight-hour system and under the longer-hour system as much, and even more, work was done under the former than under the latter; which, if true, impairs the theory that greater delay and greater cost would result.

I wish to put it in the "Record" because it appears upon careful study that some general statements that we have taken for granted about the tremendous additional cost due to the fact that the men work only eight hours, are not borne out by the facts, and when they come to be investigated they are one of those visions of imagination which dissolve under examination.

I wish to say a few words, however, Mr. President, in explanation of the table which I ask to insert in the "Record." This table is computed as a result of a notable experiment by a prominent German manufacturer who wished to ascertain to what extent it was possible to balance a diminution in the hours of labor by intensified production, and whether the greater exertion called for entailed a more rapid waste of physical powers.

Starting out on a basis of an eleven and three-quarter hour workday, this manufacturer reduced the hours of his employes to nine hours. This arrangement proved very successful and held for several years, when the question of a still further reduction of time came up for renewed discussion.

The manufacturer thereupon declared his willingness to introduce the eight-hour day, in view of the success which had followed the first cut in the hours of his employes, agreeing that the standard of wages should remain the same for the eight-hour day as for the former nine hours' work. Before the end of the first year it was ascertained that neither a diminuation in performance had taken place nor that the workers had been worked to excess, not even the older men.

The statistics on this subject are very instructive, and the comparisons made yield surprising results:

1899-1900, total number of hours of contract work, 559,169, average per man, 2,400; compensation, 345,899 marks; earning power per hour, 61.9 pfennings, 1900-1901, total number of hours of contract work, 509,559, average per man, 2,187; compensation, 366,484 marks; earning power per hour, 71.9 pfennigs.

These figures show that the hourly earnings increased 16.2 per cent. In other words, the employee working eight hours a day did 16.2 per cent more work per hour than he did when he worked nine hours a day. It is clear from this that in an entire day he did more work on the eight-hour basis than formerly.

An historic review of hours of labor will help us. When the factory system in England began, toward the close of the eighteenth century, the workday was

from fourteen to sixteen hours. It took several decades to get the workday down to ten hours—the manufacturers said that a shorter day would ruin them. It was reduced to ten hours; yet profits increased and the working people did better work. Also, they began to live.

In America the average workday was from twelve to fourteen hours at the beginning of the last century. President Van Buren reduced it to ten hours in the navy yards; and all private shipbuilding plants followed the government's lead. Then a general movement began for ten hours, which finally succeeded in nearly all manufacturing, mining and building trades. Next, General Grant secured eight hours for government employees, as above explained.

Since then, organized labor has asked for the eight-hour day, and at present, by agreement between employers and employees—the ideal method—eight hours constitute a day's work, as a general rule, in the trades enumerated in the following table:

Trades Working Eight Hours.

The eight-hour workday obtains generally in the carpenters' trade.

Electrical workers have a general eight-hour workday.

The plasterers, eight hours' labor per day is the rule, and there are a few places where plasterers work seven hours. One per cent work nine hours.

The bricklayers enforce the eight-hour workday.

The granite cutters, eight hours is the universal rule.

Masons, eight hours is the rule.

Painters, eight hours is the rule.

Decorators, eight hours is the rule.

Paperhangers, eight hours is the rule.

Plumbers, eight hours is the rule.

Gasfitters, eight hours is the rule.

Steam and hotwater fitters, eight hours is the rule.

Machine woodworkers, about 30 per cent work eight hours.

Roofers, eight hours is the rule.

Printers, eight hours is the rule.

Compositors on morning newspapers, generally seven hours as a rule.

Compositors on afternoon papers, eight hours.

German compositors, eight hours is the universal rule, five days constituting a week's work.

Stereotypers and electrotypers on newspapers, eight hours is the rule.

Coopers, eight hours is the rule.

Cigarmakers, eight hours is the rule.

Brewery workers, eight hours is the rule in about one half of the trade.

Stationary firemen, about 50 per cent work eight hours.

Iron and steel workers, generally three shifts, eight hours each.

Paper makers, eight hours is the rule.

Coal miners, in bituminous regions, eight hours.

Plate printers, eight hours is the rule.

Lathers, eight hours is the rule.

Bridge and structural iron workers, eight hours is the rule.

Cement workers is the rule.

Elevator constructors, eight hours is the rule.

Hod carriers and building laborers, eight hours is the rule.

Lithographers, eight hours is generally the rule.

Metal workers, eight hours is the rule.

Photo-engravers, eight hours is the rule.

The historic-summary of the progress of humanity from the fourteen to the eight-hour day shows how natural and inevitable it is.

Here are a few reasons for the eight-hour day. The concentration over intricate present-day machinery exhausts brain and nerve more rapidly than the crude and brute force of old-time methods. Taking a workingman's life altogether, he will do more work and better work in an eight-hour day than in a ten-hour day, because nature has more time to build up worn-out energy. And we must consider the whole working life of the laboring man, not six or eight years only.

For the laborer is a human being, not a mere machine. He has the right to get something out of life—recreation, improvement, rest. If it is said that he will use these extra hours in dissipation, the answer is that the enormous majority of workingmen go to their homes, tend their gardens in spring and summer, do the home chores in fall and winter, and have the evenings with their wives and families for reading or amusement.

If it be said that the employer works ten, twelve and fourteen hours, the answer is that it is not the continuous and concentrated attention over a machine. The employer's work, hard as it is, is varied. He is the master of it and likes to do it. The laborer's work is unvaried, unbroken, and he must do it whether he likes it or not.

That the farmer works excessive hours is true only in the spring, summer, and fall. Farm machinery is lessening both the length and severity of the farmer's toil even in these seasons; and in winter, while still busy, the farmer's work diminishes greatly. Also, the farmer's work is diversified, and in the open air, with all the health-giving and nerve-building influences of nature about him.

If it is said that if eight hours, why not seven, six, five or no hours at all, the plain answer is if ten hours, why not twelve hours ,fourteen, eighteen, or the

whole twenty-four? Such an argument either way is silly. The justice and good sense of the American people will instantly check any such foolish demand as that.

Of course there are occasions, such as flood, fire, and war, when eight hours, or even ten hours, is not enough. Also there are occupations in which a rigid eight-hour rule is not practicable. But, generally, the eight-hour day in most occupations is rapidly approaching; is here in many trades, by agreement between the employer and employee; and, by the same method, will soon be secured in all trades in which it is applicable. The burden of the argument favors the proposed eight-hour law, and, properly guarded, it should be enacted. But labor must be careful not to misuse the moral leverage such a law gives it.

We are in the fat years now; they will not always last. And when the lean years come, if it develops that our export trade is being driven from the markets of the world by nations whose laborers produce more than ours by working longer, our laborers must face the conditions. Nine hours, ten hours, is better than no employment and starvation. But let us reduce hours of labor as much as possible; let us try the experiment, remembering that most experiments to improve life and increase human happiness have proved helpful even to business.—Labor Clarion.

TIMELY DOING.

By Mrs. Frank A. Breck.

Hast thou some heaven-sent task? with promptness choose it;
Some little talent given? fail not to use it.
Hast found some stream of truth? be quick to span it;
Or spark of latent good? be swift to fan it.
If Wisdom's pearl is yet unfound, then seek it;
Is there some comfort word unsaid; oh, speak it.
Is there a cry of woe uneased? then heed it;
Some worthy cause unhelped by thee? go speed it!
Behold life's rushing tide of ill, and stem it;
Where wrong is blatant—undisturbed—condemn it.
Though crime be skulking—well-concealed—yet find it;
Go chase it from its secret lair and bind it.
Are life-lines short? then thou the cords must lengthen;
Where faith, hope, love, are weak—haste thou to strengthen.
When tempted souls despairing falter, nerve them;
Wherever human lives have need, there served them.

—New York Independent.

THE GARDEN OF YESTERDAY.

By J. W. Foley, in Collier's Weekly.

I know a garden fair to see, where haunting memories there be
Of treasures lost and joys of ours, forgotten, left among the flowers;
Like toys of children strewn upon the play-ground of the leaf and lawn;
And many stand without the gate who learn with hearts disconsolate
It swings but out and none may go in search of treasures scattered so,
For Time is keeper of the way—the Garden there is Yesterday.

All day I stood beside the gate from dawn to dusk, and saw them wait,
To plead with him to clear the way, that they might search in Yesterday;
But to them all he shook his head, "The way forever closed," he said;
"I lost a child," the mother cried; "A sweetheart I," the lover sighed;
"A song," the poet said, "was there, sweet-voiced, ineffable and rare;"
But Time, unyielding, held the way: "The place is mine—'tis Yesterday!"

And came a schoolgirl, tearful-eyed: "My playmate!" sorrowful, she cried;
The felon said: "My liberty—will you not give it back to me?"
"My gold," the miser prayed, "'tis there, the hoard I loved and could not spare;"
"My youth is there," the old man said; the widow whispered low: "My dead."
"My honor," faltered the weak knave; "My strength," the sodden, sotted slave;
And one by one they came to pray they might go back to Yesterday.

And somewhere in the Garden gleam the gems of innocence and dream;
And somewhere are the loves that were; the eyes and cheeks, and lips of Her.
Somewhere the hearts from sorrow free and all the joy that was to be;
The peace of Honor yet unsoiled; Ambition's sweetness still unspoiled;
The ties of love, the strength of youth, the hearts of hope, the ways of truth;
But Time is keeper of the way—the place is his, 'tis Yesterday!

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THE TREASURE SEEKERS.

One sought the East for gems and found, alas,
Dire failure was his most unhappy pass.
One sought the pearls in waters of the Ind,
And sank a victim of the seas and wind.
Another sought the gold that glitters free
Upon the strand far in the Northern sea,
And on the beaches of that land of white
His bones lie resting in the endless night.
A fourth plunged in the nearer fray to win
The gaudy raiment that the Trade-Elves spin,
And at the last found coffers full of dross—
The gold was profit, but his soul was loss!

For me, in Fortune's strife, give me the part
Of him that delves deep in the Mines of Heart
Not far afield, but here let me secure
From them that love me treasures that endure.

—John Kendrick Bangs.

PA'S BOY.

When pa was just a little boy,
Gee, how he ust to work,
He sawed the wood an' built the fires
An' never tried to shirk.
He always filled the reservoy
An' swept the porches, too;
'N I guess there wasn't many things
Pa didn't ust to do.

Now ma gets up and builds the fires;
She says I am too small—
An' sweeps the porches an' the walks
An' doesn't mind at all.
She says she's glad to let my pa
His morning nap enjoy,
Because he's tired with all the work
He done when he's a boy.

When I get big I'll get a wife
Edzactly like by ma;
To do the chores an' let me sleep
Just like she does my pa.
An' when I've had my mornin' nap
You bet that I'll enjoy
To tell 'em how I ust to work
When I's a little boy.

—Elizabeth Clarke Hardy.

Were half the power that fills the world with terror,
Were half the wealth bestowed on camps and courts
Given to redeem the human mind from error,
There were no need of arsenals or forts. —Longfellow.

AUTOMATIC COMPENSATION---THE INJURED WOMAN'S RIGHT

By JOHN MITCHELL, in American Federationist

The general subject of industrial accidents, employers' liability and compensation to workmen for losses caused by industrial accident involves pointing the way not only to the means of reducing the number of industrial accidents, but also to the inauguration of a better legal system of indemnifying the victims and dependents of victims of such accidents.

In order to approach the subject in an intelligent and orderly manner, it will be neccessary to direct attention to the appalling number of wage-earners killed or maimed annually in the peaceful conduct of our industries. William Hard, the well- known writer, credits the American Institute of Social Service with the statement that more than 500,000 workmen are killed or injured annually in the United States. Dr. Hoffman, statistician of the Prudential Insurance Company, has estimated the number at approximately 2,000,000.

Colonel Roosevelt, while president of the United States, wrote a letter upon this subject in which he said: "As modern civilization is constantly creating artificial dangers of life, limb, and health, it is imperative upon us to provide new safeguards against the new perils. In legislation and in our use of safety devices for the protection of workmen we are far behind European peoples, and in consequence in the United States the casualties attendant upon peaceful industries exceed those which would happen under great perpetual war. Many, even most of these casualties are preventable, and it is not supportable that we should continue a policy under which life and limb are sacrificed because it is supposed to be cheaper to maim and kill than to protect them."

What is the interpretation of these figures and this statement? They mean that more workmen are killed and injured annually in the United States, in the course of their employment, than would be killed or wounded annually if this nation and one of the European nations were arrayed against each other in continuous and perpetual war. It means that more lives are sacrificed and more workmen are injured each year in the peaceful conduct of our industries than were sacrificed in any one year during the period of the civil war. It means that more men have been killed and maimed in the coal mines of the United States during the past seven years than were killed or died as a result of wounds in the Continental army during the seven years of the American revolution.

The victories of peace have their price in dead and maimed as well as do the victories of war, and the bread of the laborer is eaten in the peril of his life. Whether he work upon the sea, upon the earth, or in the mines underneath the earth, the laborer constantly faces imminent death, and his peril increases with the progress of the age. With each new invention the number of killed and injured rises. Each new speeding up of the mechanisms of industrial life, each increase in the number and size of our mighty engines brings with it fresh human sacrifices. Each year the locomotive augments the number of its victims; in each year is lengthened the roll of the men who enter the dark and dampness of the mine never again to return to their homes and loved ones.

And many are killed without violence; thousands of wage-earners lose their lives in factories, mills, and mines without the inquest of a coroner. The slow death which comes from working in a vitiated atmosphere, from inhaling constantly the fine, sharp dust of metals, from laboring unceasingly in constrained and unnatural postures, from constant contact of the hands or lips with poisonous substances; lastly the death which comes from prolonged exposure to inclement weather, from over-exertion and under-nutrition, from lack of sleep, from lack of recuperation, swells beyond computation the unnumbered victims of a restless progress.

However sure the precautions, however perfect the arrangements, it is inconceivable that the gigantic industrial movements of the American people should be conducted without some fatahugeSoeni?x shrdl cmfwy cmfwy bm m lities. The industrial structure is a huge machine, hard running and with many unguarded parts, and many of the fatalities, many of the deaths in general are simply and solely the result of conditions beyond human control and inseparable from the ordinary course of existence. But thousands of easily preventable accidents and fatalities occur each year, and it is from these that the trade unionist strives to secure relief.

It is a strange commentary upon our boasted American civilization that in this country three times as many persons, per 1,000 employed, are killed and injured in the course of their employment as in any other country in the world. It is not my purpose to dispa-

rage the institutions of my own country, because I believe that with all our failings, with all our sins of omission and commission, we have in many respects the best government ever instituted among men, but I can not blind myself to the fact that in the matter of providing protection for the life and safety of the workman and compensating him for injuries sustained in the course of his employment, we are lagging far behind the nations of the old world. It may be said that this is not a parental government and that the state should not be called upon to regulate our industrial relations, and while I agree that they are best governed who are least governed, I contend, nevertheless, that it is a proper function of the Government to throw around the weakest of its citizens all the safeguards and all the protection possible.

In the matter of the health and safety of the workman, society has not yet learned its full lesson. There was a time when the criminal law was a matter of private settlement and a man could relieve himself of responsibility for the murder of his neighbor by making a "blood payment" of so-and-so-much money to the kinsmen of the murdered man. Our attitude toward industrial accidents is still much the same. If the employer pays a ludicrously inadequate sum to his injured employe or to the widow of a workman who has been killed, society assumes that he has performed his full duty and that his concern in the affair has ceased.

As a matter of fact, most large employers relieve themselves of financial responsibility for the death or injury of their workmen by a system of insurance in employers' liability companies. In consideration of the payment of a small fee for each person employed, these companies guarantee to defend in the courts all suits instituted for damages and to pay to the plaintiffs in such suits any judgment that may be rendered against the employer. Because of this protection it is frequently less expensive to permit a workman to be killed or maimed than to provide adequate safeguards against his injury.

During the several years just passed our scientists, statesmen, and politicians have been loud and earnest in their protestations against the waste and exhaustion of the nation's natural resources. The conservation of the material wealth of the nation is a matter of deep concern and of vital importance to our own and to future generations, but is it not high time that systematic and effective efforts be made by the State and National Governments, to protect and conserve our greatest assest—our human resources—the lives, the health, the happiness, and the prosperity of the men and women and children of labor?

Our unions have done much in this direction. They have rendered yeomen service in protecting the wage-earners, but without the aid of the State they can not carry on to full fruition their objects and ideals in this respect.

As an illustration of what has been accomplished through the efforts of the organized workingmen, it may prove illuminating to contrast the number and the proportion of accidents occurring in union and non-union employments. The following tables throw light upon the conditions existing in the coal mining industry. Here is the number killed per 1,000 employed:

Thoroughly organized States:

Arkansas	1.97
Illinois	2.62
Indiana	2.52
Iowa	2.63
Kansas	2.57
Michigan	1.78
Missouri	.95
Ohio	3.27
Oklahoma	3.93

Average, 2.47.

Partially organized States:

Washington	6.06
Pennsylvania:	
Anthracite	4.23
Bituminous	4.94

Average, 5.07.

Practically unorganized States:

Alabama	7.20
Colorado	6.96
New Mexico	11.45
West Virginia	12.35

Average, 9.49.

The following tables show the number of tons produced per life lost in the States named:

Thoroughly organized States:

Arkansas	133,522
Illinois	298,356
Indiana	263,881
Iowa	184,740
Kansas	228,827
Michigan	290,837
Missouri	499,742
Ohio	210,081
Oklahoma	110,384

Average, 246,707.

Partially organized States:

Washington	102,237
Pennsylvania:	
Anthracite	120,910
Bituminous	186,281

Average, 136,476.

Practically unorganized States:

Alabama	95,535
Colorado	108,922
New Mexico	77,322
West Virginia	65,969

Average, 86,214.

During recent years three great bridges

have been built by New York City across the East River, which divides Manhattan from Long Island. For all practical purposes these bridges are the same in construction, and in their building approximately the same number of men were employed. However, two of them were built by union workmen and one by non-union men. In the building of the Manhattan Bridge, upon which union labor was employed, there occurred one death and three injuries; in the building of the Williamsburg Bridge, upon which union labor was employed, five deaths occured, while in the building of the Blackwell's Island Bridge, upon which non-union labor was employed, fifty five fatal accidents occurred.

These statistics all go to show that our trade unions have been efficacious in protecting the life and limb of the workman just as they have been potential in securing for him higher wages, shorter hours, and improved conditions of life and labor.

Not only have the unions protected the workmen from violent deaths and mangled limbs, but they have been effective in protecting the health and longevity of their members; but encouraging and significant as these figures and statements appear, there is nevertheless, a great force lacking. Even the best conditions existing in the United States do not compare favorably with conditions existing in foreign countries, because in foreign countries the efforts of the unions are supplemented by the activities of the state.

During the ten years 1889-1908 the following is the record of fatal accidents in the mining industry of the countries named.

	Average number men employed each yeor.	Total number men killed.	Death rate per 1000 employed.
India	79,007	676	0.86
Austria	53,794	928	1.74
Belgium	132,251	1,401	1.06
France	162,917	2,944	1.81
Prussia	397,022	8,460	2.13
Great Britain	796,303	10,319	1.29
United States	544,756	19,775	3.46

These figures and these contrasts all go to prove that the causes and the prevention of industrial accidents are not determined or largely influenced by humanitarian considerations. If they were I am free to say that the results would be more favorable to the United States, because I believe that the American employer is not inherently less considerate of the lives and the safety of the workmen than is the employer of other nations. The fact is that the humane, progressive employer is as much the victim of his environment as is the workman. The decent employer is often deterred from expending the money necessary to provide safety appliances by reason of the fact the avaricious and unfair employer will not do so. The reasonable employer is placed at a disadvantage competitively when he undertakes to provide adequately for the safty of his employes. This circumstance but emphasizes the necessity of requiring by law that machinery shall be protected, in order that the expense may fall upon all alike. As a matter of fact, every person who has investigated the subject is forced to the conclusion that the question of accidents and their prevention is a question of dollars and cents. If it costs more to kill a workman in America than to protect him—as it does in Europe—the American workman would not be killed, he would be protected; and the number of industrial accidents would be reduced at least one-half.

And in connection with this subject, it is highly important to the preservation of life and the promotion of health that the factory and mining laws of all our States—which, a tthe present time, are wholly inadequate—should be greatly extended and should be enforced with the utmost vigor. Manufacturers should be required, under pain of severe penalty, to equip machinery and working places with every safety device it is possible to secure, and the State itself should establish museums of safety devices and industrial hygiene in which should be exhibited drawings or models of all safety appliances in use in this and other countries.

As a further means of reducing accidents, our iniquitous and antiquated liability laws should be repealed and in their place should be established an automatic system of compensation to workmen for losses caused by industrial accidents. If the money now spent by employers in defending themselves against personal injury litigation were paid directly to the injured workmen or to the dependents of workmen who have been killed, it would go a long way toward relieving their distress and toward extricating the nation from the humiliating and disgraceful position it now occupies in respect to this question.

The United States is now the only industrial nation on earth that maintains the old system of liability based upon negligence. We still live under the common law, only slightly modified by statute in some of the States. This law was evolved more than a century ago, at a time when there was not a mine, a mill, or a factory of any importance in the United States. The system may have been just then, but it is unjust now. We were wholly an agricultural people

one hundred years ago; we are now an industrial nation and our machinery is more complex than that of any other nation on earth.

Our men work harder; they live under a severe nervous strain; we are a heterogeneous people—hundreds of thousands of immigrants come to our shores each year; we work and live together, and it is not to be wondered at that we more readily fall victims to industrial accidents and occupational diseases than do the workmen in the more slow-going, homogeneous nations of Europe; therefore we, even more than they, require protection against the evils of modern industrialism.

As a rule, an injured workman has no remedy at law if his injury were caused by the act of a fellow-workman or if he contributed himself in any degree to his own injury. In many instances he has no remedy at law whatever, because it has been held by the courts that the workman in accepting employment assumes all the risks of his work. The result of all this judge-made law has been that the workman is practically helpless; the employer is under heavy expense defending himself in the courts or in paying premiums to liability companies, and the courts of the State and nation are burdened beyond their capacity with litigation that in every other nation is eliminated because of the automatic settlement of such claims.

I shall not undertake a detailed discussion of the laws of other nations, but shall direct attention to the principles evolved by the workingmen's compensation act which is now in force in Great Britian. If a British workman of any calling meets with an accident in the course of his employment, he receives from his employer two weeks after the accident one-half of the wages he was earning at the time the accident occurred. These payments continue until the workman resumes his employment. If he be permanently and totally disabled, an amount equal to one-half his wages is paid for the remainder of his life. If a workman is killed in the course of his employment, there is paid immediately to his dependents a sum equal to three years' wages.

These payments are not high—not so high as they should be, and certainly not sufficient adequately to compensate a workman in the United States—but even on this basis of one-half wages the American workman woul dbe immeasurably better protected and provided for than he is under the present system. And in connection with this phase of the subject it is well to remember that under this compensation act payments are made at the time the victim of an accident or his dependents most need it; whereas under our system, even when recovery is made, it is necessary to await the slow processes of the courts, sometimes extending over a period of years.

From time immemorial the organized workers of the United States have endeavored, with only a fair degree of success, to have enacted suitable employers' liability laws, and while I am in full sympathy with their efforts in this direction, yet it is to be remembered that even the best system of employers' liability means expense, delay, and litigation, whereas the compensation laws of foreign countries work automatically, benefits are paid immediately, friction is eliminated, and a large measure of justice is done.

It has been demonstated beyond reasonable doubt that in only one case in seven has the American workman succeeded in collecting damages in a suit instituted against his employer, and if he makes a settlement out-side the court he is usually required to accept an amount less than is paid in cases of like injury under the operation of the British law.

On the whole, it would seem to me that from every consideration of business judgment, economy, and fair dealing between man and man, we should not hesitate longer in abandoning a system that has been productive of so much misery and injustice, to say nothing of the friction and ill feeling engendered between employer and employe. Under our present system an injured workman is compelled to sue the only man on earth upon whom he has a moral claim for employment; whereas under an automatic compensation system he receives as a matter of right—not as a benefaction—a definite amount of money, a sufficient amount to tide him or his dependents over the period of adversity.

At this point it may be of interest to consider the expense, because—as indicated in discussing this matter—the average employer is concerned with the question of cost. I am not prepared to say what the relative expense would be under a compensation system as against the present liability system; but Mr. Hard states that in the eleven years, 1894 to 1905, inclusive, the employers' liability companies of America took in $99,959,076 in premiums from American employers, and that these companies paid out in the settlement of claims of injured workmen $43,599,498, or 43.6 per cent of the amount they took in.

It is safe to say that of the $43,599,498 paid in settlement of the claims of injured workmen, 35 per cent was expended by the injured workmen in the payment of attorney fees and court expenses, so that, in the final analysis, the injured workmen received less than $30,000,000 of the

$100,000,000 paid by employers during this period in premiums to liability companies. In other words, $70,000,000 were wasted—worse than wasted, because the money was used in burdening our courts with litigation and in delaying or defeating the settlement of just claims, when it should have been used (and would be used under a wise system) for the immediate relief of the men and their families who are the victims of the hazard of industrial pursuits.

I am not prepared to say that even though the entire $100,000,000 had been paid directly to the injured workmen, it would have been sufficient to have indemnified them for their losses, but I do believe that it would not have required very much more to have compensated them on the basis of the British workmen's compensation act.

I believe that industry should bear the burden of the pecuniary loss sustained by workmen as a result of industrial accidents, just as it is now required to repair its machinery and to offset the losses of depreciation in the value of its plants. The workmen and those dependent upon them are and will be under any system required to bear all the physical pain and mental suffering. For this they can not be reimbursed, but they should be relieved of the harrowing fear of hunger and want; they should be guaranteed against the humiliation and degradation of becoming objects of charity.

There are, of course, great obstacles to be overcome; constitutional difficulties stand in the way, but we must approach the question with that courage, patience, and persistence that have characterized our movement in all the great work it has undertaken to do.

Already six sovereign states have appointed commissions to investigate the subject and to devise a system of automatic compensation, and I am reasonably hopeful that the legislatures appointing these commissions will act favorably upon these reports. The state of New York has already enacted a statute providing for compensation in a limited number of dangerous trades, and if the trial works out successfully there is little doubt in my mind that the law will be made general and applicable to all the industries in New York state.

I believe that the time is ripe for the wage-earners and all their well-wishers to make a concerted effort to remedy this evil that has grown up under our complex industrial system and to substitute for our liability laws a better and infinitely less wasteful system—that of automatic compensation to workmen for losses caused by industrial accident.

BIG STRIKE OF SLATE WORKERS.

Against the Arvonia, Va., Slate Co.'s for Better Conditions—Financial Aid Is Needed.

To all Organized Friends of Labor, Greeting:

This is a direct appeal to you for financial aid. The big Arvonia Local of the International Union of Slate Workers, now on strike is not making this appeal solely for thebenefit of its members, much as they need money to buy food for themselves and families. The appeal is asked of Organized Labor for the benefit of Organized Labor, in order that this Union of Slate Workers may fight this strike to a successful finish.

We are pitted against one of the most heartless combinations that ever attempted a war of extermination of the Labor Movement, The Buckingham Slate Quarry Manufacturers' Association. They have practically refused to meet us or treat with us, and up to this time practically ignored our request for a conference. They seem determined to destroy the union, as they have often boasted they would.

Their slogan is: "We are going to break the union."

Thereby suppressing our agitation for living wages and decent conditions of employment.

If this union is destroyed, Organized Labor in Virginia will be given a blow from which it may take years to recover. Really this fight is your fight as much as it is ours. For once the issue is clear cut and the line-up definite and complete. It has fallen to the Arvonia Slate Workers to begin the skirmish and now the battle is one and will stay on until victory or defeat is our portion.

However, we are determined to win this struggle, no matter how long it takes or what the cost, but we want to do it with the least possible suffering on the part of the women and children, and are therefore appealing to Organized Labor of all crafts to render us what assistance they can at this time. We would like to have you make as liberal a donation as you can, and assure you the favor will not be forgotten and every penny spent to the very best advantage. Our funds are completely exhausted and as you are no doubt aware, the expense of our Organization is heavy and we urgently request you to give this matter your immediate attention.

Assuring you that any help you may render will be inexpressibly appreciated by your brothers in the International Union of Slate Workers, we are,

Yours sincerely and fraternally,
International Union of Slate Workers.

S. H. Milford, President.
Thomas H. Palmer, Secretary.

P. S.—Please send all donations to Thomas H. Palmer, Lock Box 404, Pen Argyl, Pa., and notify S. H. Milford, East Bangor, Pa.

CORRESPONDENCE

Los Angeles, Cal., Dec. 9, 1910.
Mr. F. J. McNulty, President I. B. E. W.
Springfield, Ill.

Dear Sir and Brother:—The following is a resolution adopted by Local No. 82 which we wish to publish in the Journal:

Whereas, It has pleased the Almighty God in His infinite wisdom to call from our midst the daughter of our esteemed Brother, Albert Miller, leaving her father, mother and friends in deepest gloom.

Resolve, That we sincerly condole with the relatives of the deceased in the dispensation of Divine Providence, and that the heartfelt testimonial of our sympathy and sorrow be forwarded to the relatives of the deceased.

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be forwarded to Brother Miller and his wife, and a copy be spread upon our minutes and a copy furnished our Official Journal for publication.

Committee on resolution,
H. B. Suttie,
A. H. Heimer,
F. T. Broiles.

Fraternally yours,
H. C. Loch,
Recording Secretary.

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54 Orleans St., Springfield, Mass.
Dec. 12, 1910.
Mr. P. W. Collins, G. S., I. B. E. W.
Springfield, Ill

Dear Sir and Bro.: This is the first time Local No. 643 has said anything in The Worker and the boys think we ought to be heard from .

We are in Springfield, Mass. alive and everything "O. K."

Are taking in three new members this month just to wind the old year up in good shape.

Work is coming fair just now and the Brothers look toward a good year in 1911.

Hoping you put this in your next Worker and wishing success to the I. B. E. W., I remain

Fraternally yours,
Arthur Stroebele,
Rec. and Press Sec'y.

Washington, D. C., Dec. 12, 1910.
Mr. Peter W. Collins, Secretary, Electrical Workers' International Union,
Pierik Bldg., Springfield, Ill.

Dear Sir and Brother:—The edition of the label directory as issued from this office containing the names and addresses of manufacturers in various industries, who are using the label of the various affiliated organizations, together with data relative to union shop and store cards, buttons, etc., is nearly exhausted. These directories have been of great value in every locality where they have been in use in providing merchants who are friendly disposed as to where they can obtain various products bearing the union label.

Since the close of our last convention requests have been received from various localities for over five thousand of these directories, and we have been unable to supply the same because as stated above.

This office is now preparing to publish a revised edition of this directory, and is desirous of having the same ready for distribution as near January 1, 1911, as it is possible to do. You are therefore urgently requested to furnish this office at your earliest convenience a thorough and complete list of manufacturers in your industry who are using the label as may be of benefit and in it can be placed in the directory.

Of course, there are some of the affiliated organizations that it might be impossible to publish a list such as is spoken of, and in this event it is requested that such matter descriptive of the lable as may be of benefit and interest be supplied for publication.

Hoping that you will give this matter your early attention, and supply the information desired at once, so that there may be no delay in issuing the revised edition, and thanking you in advance for your compliance with this request, I remain,

Yours fraternally,
Thomas F. Tracy,
Secretary-Treasurer.

Minneapolis, Minn., Dec. 18, 1910.
Mr. Peter W. Collins,
Springfield, Ill.

Dear Sir and Brother:—As the year of 1910 is about to close and the New Year to be born to us, with all its joys and sorrows, its success and failures.

I think it is time for a review of the past year, and speaking for the Twin Cities, I will say that we have been fairly successful in our endeavors.

The last twelve months have been fruitful for us, when you are looking at organized Electrical Workers' for all

locals have increased their membership to no small extent. For the inside a. shop men it has been a very satisfa/ tory year, plenty of work, eight hours per day and the men paid the scale for all their work. For the outside men there is lots of work, with nine hours as a work day, and a general increase for all in our local. This increase amounted in some cases as high as ten dollars per month and was given to their men without the asking. But that is not all for us to consider in talking over a successful season.

Early in May of this year the Executive Board of the M. S. F. of T. decided to put in an exhibit at the Minnesota State Fair held in September. The Electrical Workers of the Twin Cities took the matter up through a joint committee from the four following locals: 23, St. Paul; 24, Minneapolis; 229 and 541 of Minneapolis.

The committee met and organized for business in May and came back to their locals in August with the request that the committe be made permanent, the request was granted and the committee were or are to hold for one year, or to May 1, 1911.

We put on one of the finest electrical displays that was ever exhibited in the northwest. Not only from a standpoint of beauty, but all wiring fixtures, hanging and cross arming and guying was according to standard specifications and would pass inspection in any city in the United States.

Our exhibit learned us a lot in another line as follows: We soon found out that a great many members o fthe four locals were strangers to each other and that the best of feeling did not prevail among the members of the four locals. We immediately asked that the committee take the place of a (get-together) committed appointed a year before, but had never had a meeting. This request was granted by each local and the locals went farther than that, they each gave an open meeting and served refreshments and spring water, the result of which we know each other now.

The open meetings were all turned over to the committee, and it made reports of its progress at each of them.

To follow up the State Fair the committee gave a grand ball on Thanksgiving night which was a success in every way. We expect to give more and when the delegates come to attend the convention to be held in Minneapolis in 1911, you will have a chance to spend all the money that the committe can accumulate before that time.. We expect to get going after the new year and will send a copy of our laws to the I. O. for approval. We have given the committee the following names and we hope that it will out live anything of its kind ever formed in the northwest before.

The State eneral Committee of Electrical Workers' is officered at the present time as follows:

S. Ghlyer, 24; President.
H. Gable, 541; Vice-Pres.
R. Holmes,23; Secretary.
H. Gousmo, 292; Treasurer.
E. Lundine, 541.
C. Drake, 23.
F. Bronsdan, 24.
Geist, 292.
E. Quockenbust, 292.
N. Till, 541.
J. Durrand, 23.
F. Greenfield, 24.

The committee is open for any task the locals can give it, and we are all workers for the cause. If you don't believe this just watch us for the next ten months, then come up to the convention and we will show you that Minneapolis can make good if the Electrical Workers say so.

As I am about to retire as Press Secretary of Local No. 24, and another will take my place, I will close wishing everyone a Merry Christmas and a Happy New Year, and I know that those will be happiest that are selected to attend the convention here next September.

Yours truly,
Doc. P. S. No. 24.

LABOR'S CHIEF WEAPON

The strike and the boycott are effective weapons when rightly used, and the labor organization without a strike clause in its constitution is as helpless as a babe. A labor union stripped of weapons of offense and defense is as useless in the cause of labor as an army without leaders and stripped of its guns. But the armory of unionism contains a weapon far stronger than the strike or the boycott, and it can be wielded in times of peace with far more effect than the other two can be wielded in time of war.

Of all the weapons by which union labor can fight the battle for labor's advancement none is equal to the union label. Intelligently and consistently used it can overcome all opposition; allowed to rust and mildew from disuse it becomes more dangerous to the owner than to the opposition.

When the day comes—and God speed it—that union men and women every-

where demand the label on all that they buy, then will be the day of victory and rejoicing. Cunning and intrigue and force cannot prevail against this weapon when it is rightly used. Militia ad injunctions cannot prevail against it. Prison walls cannot confine it.

"But if any provide not for his own, and especially for those of his own house, he hath denied the faith and is worse than an infidel."

This is as applicable to the labor organization as it is to the church. The union man who smokes scab cigars, wears non-union clothing and shoes, accepts coal delivered by non-union teamsters, patronizes a non-union barber shop, fails to ask for the clerk's card, never thinks of demanding the label, has denied his union faith and is worse than a "scab." The union man who provides not for his fellow unionists by using only the products of union labor is worse even than the "scab," who is either too ignorant to know or too vicious to care for any save himself.

The union man who buys non-union goods because it is handier than to hunt up the union-made article is union in name only and has yet to learn the first principles of unionism. Such a man is failing to use the most potent weapon in the labor union army, and is not doing a union man's part in resisting the onslaughts of those who would crush organized labor. There is absolutely no excuse for any union man or woman to buy non-union made goods. Everything that is needed to eat or to wear, or to indulge in as a luxury, may be found bearing the union label if diligent search is made for them. It is estimated that union labor in the United States has a purchasing power of over $1,000,000,000. This vast sum if diverted into the channels of union trade would revolutionize labor conditions forever, and the "open shop" agitation and make unionism an accomplished fact instead of an ideal that must be worked for and fought for every hour in the day and every day in the year. Men may talk, women may work and labor newspapers may agitate from now till the crack of doom for the advancement of labor's cause, but until union men and women take hold in earnest and push the lable all the work and talk and agitation will be in vain.

Convenience must be forgotten. Prejudice in favor of this or that merchant must be laid aside. Personal preferences must be set aside. The one thing that must be done, if organized labor is to win in its great battle, is to push the lable night and day. There is no excuse for a union man or woman buying non-union made goods. Organization has been perfected in every trade and calling, and the unionist can buy art goods, beer, bags, bottles, baskets, brooms, boots, brick, bakers' goods, barber work, candy, cigars, chinaware, carvings, cutlery, carriages, caps, carpets, corsets, dress goods, dusters, electrical supplies, engines, fireworks, fencing, files, ginghams, guns, glass, hemp goods, hats, harness, horse goods, ironware, jewelry knit goods, ties, leather goods, liquors, linens, maps, machinery, matches, music, musicians' services, mattresses, newspapers, organs, rugs, pianos, printed matter, printing presses, salt, queensware rope, soap, starch, suspenders, shirts skirts, steel, type, stockings, shoes, tinware, tobacco, terra cotta, tailor-made goods, zinc, trunks, tables, underwear, ulsters, veilings, vases, woodenware, wagons woolens and watches—all these and many others.

If every union man and woman would begin now to insist upon being supplied with union-made goods, the battle would be all over but the shouting.

But we too often take the "scab" goods because we would have to walk a block to get the union goods. We buy of a grocer who pushes "scab" goods because we "like to trade there." We use the "scab" tobacco because it takes less tags by a few hundred thousand to get a stick of chewing gum or a brass stick pin. We buy coal of a dealer who will not hire union men because he trusted us for coal ten years ago when we happened to be short. We buy "scab" soap because "it floats" when a union-made soap just as good or better might have to be reached for. We buy "scab" clothing because it is too much trouble to look for the label. We smoke "scab" cigars because we get a coupon that is good for nothing.

In short, we talk unionism all the time and practice it only when we are in union meeting. It won't do, brethren and friends. We've got to do more. And the thing to do is to use the label as a weapon day and night, in season and out of season.

That's the way to win—and it's the easiest and the quickest way of all. And the best.—Rochester Labor Journal.

THE ENEMIES OF LABOR

Who are the greatest enemies of organized labor? The first impulse would be to answer, the corporations, the trusts, or the employing class generally. But is this so? Is it not rather the non-union workmen? Who is it defeats every move-

ment of organized workmen to better conditions? It is not the employer that the union need fear when entering into a conflict, but those who are of the same condition of life, and who would be equally benefited by the success of the union as the members thereof.

Of the millions of workmen in the land, how small a portion of them are in the ranks of organized labor! Yet every improvement in present over past conditions of labor is due to the efforts and secrifices of the brave men and women that compose the trade unions of the land and who are still struggling to further improve the lot of the worker and are daily making progress to a higher and better life for the toiling masses of the earth.

Every advance made and every advantage gained through the efforts of organized labor is shared by the unorganized, who have been the greatest obstacles in the progress of the movement.

Every improvement in the general condition of labor today over that of past years can be directly attributed to the organizations of labor. Behind every legislative enactment in the interest of labor will be found the influence of the trade union. In every state legislature, in every congress and lawmaking body of the world measures are being proposed to ameliorate the conditions of the toiler —to lighten the burdens of labor—and behind them all will be found the trade union, and the non-unionist shares the benefits of those whom he has ever antagonized.

What a mighty power for good would organized labor be, could all workmen be brought to realize it, and to join hands in a common cause. There is nothing that could not be attained by united effor. Legislatures would then bow in submission to that mighty force and instead of being willing servants of corporate wealth they would be the servants of the people. The power of the people that made them would be the power that could unmake.

How can men with the least spark of manly self-respect bear to watch the struggles of their union fellow workmen and accept the results and benefits accruing from such struggles without lending a helping hand? Every workman owes it to his self-respect; he owes it to his fellow workman, to everything he holds near and dear, to join hands with the union of his craft and do his snare in the movement that means so much to all who toil. With what manly pride the trade unionist meets his fellow workman, conscious of duty alone; of having done his part, and of still doing it; he looks every one straight in the eye, knowing that he is not enjoying benefits that some others gained for him; with his union card in his pocket—his certificate of honor—he knows he will meet with true and loyal friends wherever he may go. Should he be in search of employment he finds on every hand those eager to assist him and, should injustice be done him, just as eager to defend.

Come what will or what may, it is much better to feel that one is doing his part along with fellow workmen to make the world better, than to, craven-like, accept the benefit of the others' efforts without doing anything to aid.—Ex.

AN ENTERPRISING UNION.

Printers' Organization Has Nearly 1,800 Students Enrolled in Educational Course.

It is not as well known as it might be that the typographical union is interested in a trade educational project. A booklet just from the press tells us that nearly eighteen hundred students are enrolled and that the lessons—which are given by correspondence—are sold below cost price. The union furnishes what in higher educational circles would be calle an endowment by paying all advertising and promotional expenses and giving each person who finishes the course from $5 up. It is estimated that from $8,000 to $10,000 a year is expended in this way by all the typographical unions.

The booklet referred to contains testimonials from students of the course, and from the youth of seventeen to the veteran of sixty-four they say the instruction given is of high value and well worth the time and money required. This is but one of the many projects sustained by the printers' union. It has spent a million dollars maintaining a home and tuberculosis sanatorium which is conceded to be in the front rank of world institutions for fighting the white plague. It has also a pension system for aged and infirm members which costs about $200,000 a year. The minimum pension is $4 a week; in the larger cities this is supplemented by the local union so that in New York pensioners draw $8 a week and in Chicago $7.